

Norman and Anglo-Norman Participation in the Iberian *Reconquista* c.1018 - c.1248

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2007

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Abstract

This thesis covers the Norman and Anglo-Norman contribution to the Iberian *Reconquista* from the early eleventh to the mid-thirteenth centuries. It explores the involvement of these groups as part of the changing ideas of Holy War and their transformation as result of the First Crusade. It shows that although the *Reconquista* was the result of important political and economic factors within the Iberian realms, the theological aura that the papacy started placing on this conflict was a powerful motivator increasing the interest of the Normans and later Anglo-Normans, especially when coincidental with the general call for crusade in western Europe that resulted in the large expeditions that are known to us as the crusades.

To cover these areas, this work is divided in four main sections: the first, Chapter II, pursues chronologically the careers of individual members of the Norman nobility such as Roger of Tosny, Robert Crispin and Robert Burdet as they became involved. It also addresses the influence that institutions like Cluny and the papacy might have had in the creation of the idea of the *Reconquista* in the minds of those involved. The second section, Chapter III explores the brief decline of the Norman interest in the peninsula as a result of the Norman conquest of England and the First Crusade. It also explores the revitalization of the Norman interest in the peninsular conflict with the careers of Rotrou of Perche and Robert Burdet. Chapter IV, addresses the large contribution of the Anglo-Normans as part of the Second Crusade and their motivations and the impact of their arrival on the Iberian realms. Chapter V explores the participation of the lower aristocracy and merchants from the

mid-twelfth century onwards in the coastal actions on both the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Iberia, showing the impact that these actions had in the *Reconquista*. Finally, Chapter VI explores how the changing political circumstances in Iberia and the Anglo-Norman domains helped to increase awareness during the rise of the Angevin empire and the newly found diplomatic relations between the two regions. However, it also shows that although by the thirteenth century the *Reconquista* was perceived as a legitimate area of crusading, the political and economic circumstances on the peninsula as well as of the English Crown had important repercussions for the drastic decline in the number of participants.

The University notes that the candidate is dyslexic.

Acknowledgements

To complete this work I had to get help and support from so many people and institutions. I would thus like to express my gratitude to all those who made it possible for me to write this thesis. First, I offer my eternal gratitude to my parents for their continuous support and encouragement throughout my studies in England. I would like to also give thanks to my supervisors Prof. Michael Jones, Dr Claire Taylor, and Dr Kristian Molin for their guidance and patience during my studies at Nottingham and especially for their hard work, dedication, and endless help in proofreading, which was truly invaluable. Also I would like to thank my examiners Dr Richard Goddard and Professor Norman Housley for their understanding and guidance with correction and my future career.

Kind thanks also goes to Student Support and more specifically to Kim Lawson for her help with my Dyslexia and proofreading my drafts. For general help and advice I would also like to thank, Kristin Bundesen, Dr Anna Rich Abad and Dr Paul Evans. I am grateful to the library staff of the University of Nottingham and more especially to Alison Stevens for help with interlibrary loans and to Rebecca Jones for her aid with Arabic texts.

Additional thanks go to Professor Robert Brian Tate and to Don Eloy Benito Ruano, perpetual secretary of La Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid,

for their guidance with research in Spanish archives. I would like also to mention Jack Hol at the Arxiu Municipal de Tarragona for his invaluable aid with reproduction of manuscripts and for letting me stay in his home on many occasions. I would also like to mention the institutions, archives, and libraries to which I had access and which allowed me to compile the research material necessary to completing this thesis: the British Library, Institute of Historical Research, Public Record Office, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Consejo Superior de investigaciones Científicas en Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Arxiu de la Catedral de Tarragona, Arxiu Municipal de Tarragona, Arxiu diocesana de Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragón, and Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

Finally, I give especial thanks to my friends and fellow students for their support: Felipe González Sánchez, Joan Riera Baladas, Victor Durà Vila, Maria Ribo, Blai Soler Marce, Nuno Soares, Dr Vytautas Pashkunas, Vitali Ustsinovich, Dr Alexander Stasinski, Dr Paul Evans, Dr Davide Santoro, Francesco Tomasini, Kristin Bundesen, Dr Anna Rich Abad, Rebeca Pérez León, Mark Steele, Enrique Ajuria, Derek Hunter, Jian Zhang, Dr Maurice Milne, Dr Dominic Alessio, and Amanda Samuels.

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Preliminary Note

In this thesis I have used the proper names of each individual place in the language that corresponds to their area of origin. Therefore the Castilian kings appeared in Spanish, while the Aragonese in Catalan, the Portuguese in Portuguese, the English in English and the French in French and so on. I use the name of the person as was known in his or her place of origin, therefore I refer to Robert Burdet, as such and not as he is usually mentioned in the modern Catalan sources and Blanca of Castile, mother of Louis IX by her Castilian spelling instead of the French one. However, the names of the medieval kingdoms, counties, cities and duchies are in their modern English spelling.

For the documents relating to the conquest and settlement of Normans and Anglo-Normans in the Valley of the Ebro, this thesis makes use of a table in the appendix where all the documents used are listed in chronological order. The table contains columns to give a clearer presentation of the information contained within each document. It also allows shorter footnote references to be given to the main text.

Abbreviations

AAT	Arxiu de l'Arxidiòcesi de Tarragona
ACA	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó
ACB	Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona
ACT	Arxiu de la Catedral de Tarragona
ACTo	Arxiu de la Catedral de Tortosa
ACTu	Archivo de la Catedral de Tudela
ADB	Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona
ADP	Archivo de la Diócesis del Pilar
ADT	Arxiu Diocesà de Tortosa
<i>AEM</i>	<i>Anuario de estudios medievales</i>
<i>AHDE</i>	<i>Anuario de historia del derecho español</i>
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional de España
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AL</i>	<i>Archivos leoneses</i>
AMT	Arxiu Municipal de Tarragona
<i>AnCA</i>	Geronimo Zurita, <i>Anales de la Corona de Aragón</i> , ed. A. Ubieto
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>ASAB</i>	<i>L'arxiu de Santa Anna de Barcelona</i> , ed. J. Alturo i Perucho
<i>BH</i>	<i>Bulletin Hispanique</i>
BL	British Library
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF	Bibliothèque national de France
<i>BRAH</i>	<i>Boletín de la real academia de la historia</i>
<i>CAI</i>	<i>Crónica del Emperador Alfonso VII</i> , ed. M. Pérez González
<i>CAT</i>	Caffaro, <i>De captione Almerie et Tortuose</i>
<i>CCM</i>	<i>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale</i>
<i>CDRG</i>	<i>Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova</i> , ed. C. Imperiale
<i>CGE</i>	<i>Primera crónica general de España</i> , ed. R. Menéndez Pidal
<i>CHE</i>	<i>Cuadernos de historia de España</i>
<i>CLRC</i>	<i>Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla</i> , ed. L. Charlo Brea
<i>CMJ</i>	Mathew Paris, <i>Chronica Majora</i> ed., H. Richards Luard

CP	<i>Cartulari de Poblet: editio del manuscrito de Tarragona</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
DEL	<i>De expugnatione Lyxbonensi</i> , ed. C. W. David
DCT	<i>Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. A. Virgili
EEMCA	<i>Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón</i> (series)
EHR	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
ES	<i>España Sagrada</i> , ed. E. Florez
GRH	<i>Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis</i> , ed. W. Stubbs
GS	<i>Gesta Stephani</i> , ed. K. R. Potter
HA	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum</i> , ed. D. Greenway
IHR	<i>The International History Review</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
LB	<i>Libre Blach de Santas Creus</i> , ed. F. Udina Martorell
NMS	<i>Nottingham Medieval Studies</i>
OV	Orderic Vitalis, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> , ed. M. Chibnall
PA	<i>Poema de Almería</i> , ed. M. Pérez González in CAI
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
PS	<i>Portuguese Studies</i>
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
RDO	Ralph of Diceto, <i>Opera Historica</i> , ed. W. Stubbs
RHC	Roger of Howden, 'Chronicle', RS, ed. W. Stubbs
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
RHLE	R. Dozy, <i>Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge</i> , II
RQH	<i>Revue des questions historiques</i>
RS	Roll Series
RTC	Robert of Torigni, 'Chronicle', RS, ed. R. Howlett
SJP	<i>Crónica de San Juan de la Peña</i> .
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Societ</i>

Chapter I

Introduction

Foreign participation in the Iberian reconquest is an area of study, which has mostly concentrated on Frankish involvement. Most of the foreign participants in the Iberian reconquest were from southern France, so the subject has been traditionally been dominated by French scholars. The inhabitants of Gascony, Provence and the Midi were historically and ethnically related to their neighbours across the Pyrenees and were involved in the campaigns of the reconquest from its beginnings. In comparison Norman and, Anglo-Norman participation was very minor. However, the Normans were already an important force in European expansion in the eleventh century. Although much research has been done on the Normans in Italy, England, and the Holy Land, little research has been done regarding their participation in the Iberian peninsula.

It is the purpose of this thesis to explain the reasons for the rise and decline of Norman participation in the *Reconquista*, in relation to both Iberian and English internal politics during this period. It will also address why there was never any substantial Norman participation in the Castilian campaigns of reconquest in the twelfth century although the English chroniclers seemed to have had great admiration for the Castilian-Leonese crusading record. The definition of the terms crusade and *Reconquista* will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

To understand the reasoning behind the Norman and the later Anglo-Norman participation in Iberia, one must explore the history behind the formation of the duchy of Normandy and the rise of the Norman people and their predecessors, the Vikings. The first arrival of Norsemen on the coasts of the Iberian peninsula can be traced back to the mid-ninth century when Viking longboats raided its coasts. According to Ferreiro Alemparte, the first Viking incursion to be described by any chronicle took place in 843 against the coasts of Galicia. In this incursion, according to the anonymous writer of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, the Norsemen were repelled by the Asturian monarch Ramiro I (842-850).¹ On this occasion the Vikings, after being defeated by the Christians of the peninsula, continued their venture south, and sacked the Moorish city of Seville. The claim that the Iberian monarch was responsible for the destruction of over sixty Viking ships is also supported in the *Historia Silensis*.² The destruction of the Viking fleet has to be treated with some scepticism if the later sack of Seville by the same group of Vikings is to be believed.³ They were most certainly attracted by the wealth of Spain, as during this period the Vikings were raiders whose desire for moveable wealth seems to have been the greatest motivation for their military ventures. These early raids into the Iberian peninsula had little relation to the later Christian expeditions of the eleventh century, but were the prelude to the later development of the Norman desire to find land to conquer as they became

¹ J. Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados a las Costas de la Península Ibérica* (Madrid, 1999), 25; Lucæ Tudensis, *Chronicon Mundi*, ed. E. Falque (Turnhout, 2003), 261.

² *Historia Silensis*, eds. J. Pérez de Urbel and A. González Ruiz-Zorrilla (Madrid, 1939), 143.

³ Lucæ Tudensis, 'Chronicon mundi', in *Hispania Illustratræ*, IV (Aubriis, 1608), 77.

Christianized and adopted some of the social and political structures of the Franks in northern France.⁴

The formation of the duchy of Normandy in 911, with Rollo's acceptance of the king of France as his overlord, had a profound impact for the transformation of the identity of the Norman people and perhaps changed their aims for enterprises overseas. Although not abandoning altogether their seafaring piracy, the Normans easily adopted Christianity, the French language and the structures of government and division of power.⁵ This combination of Frankish traditions and culture with Nordic ones would create a new ethnic group of people that with its new Christian faith would prove to be one of the most powerful forces in European politics for the next two centuries.⁶ Moreover, the society in which the new Norman nobility was established in northern France gave them a new purpose in their overseas ventures. They were no longer interested in booty alone; conquest and settlement became a driving force behind the new period of Norman conquest across Europe and the Iberian peninsula proved to be a theatre for their actions from very early on.⁷

As the Norman nobility started to take control of the duchy of Normandy in the tenth century, castles were built and estates were established and the Norman families started to increase in size. Soon, the

⁴ C. H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (New York, 1943), 26-31.

⁵ Ibid., 45-50; P. Bauduin, 'Présentation', in *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, ed. P. Bauduin (Caen, 2005), 8-9.

⁶ Ibid., 9.

⁷ For more information on the early arrival of Normans on the coasts of the Iberian peninsula see: *RHLE*, 250-331; Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 13-55.

youngest members of these newly raised aristocratic families found that they would not inherit any or little wealth and land from their parents, so they were encouraged to look for fortune and land elsewhere.⁸ The Norman aristocracy was influenced by the Frankish nobility's concern for division of the patrimony; this placed the younger children in a difficult situation with regards to land.⁹ Although at first, the continuous wars between lords in Normandy and northern France generally gave these younger nobles the opportunity to gain rewards and even land, by the early eleventh century Normandy was becoming overpopulated and the wealth that these young aristocrats could gain was more difficult to obtain.¹⁰ Knights and even first sons were also forced to leave their patrimony as a result of feuds that erupted during this period and which displaced many.¹¹ The centralization of the duchy by the efficient rule of its dukes reduced the likelihood of gaining new lands within Normandy. Therefore by the mid-eleventh century Normandy was not simply the place where many waves of Norsemen came to settle, but became the launching pad for a new period of expansion into other areas of Europe. Other factors also contributed to the increase of Norman nobles going overseas in hopes of conquest. The adoption of Christianity encouraged them to go on pilgrimages to other parts of Europe and the Near East to visit shrines and

⁸ D. Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (London, 1982), 241-245; J. J. Norwich, *The Normans in the South 1016-1130* (London, 1967), 8; J. France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom* (London, 2005), 27.

⁹ G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (London, 1977), 117.

¹⁰ C. Warren Hollister, *Medieval Europe* (New York, 1994), 183-182; Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 106; France, *The Crusades*, 11.

¹¹ Bates, *Normandy Before 1066*, 243; L. Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons Normands du Xe au XIIIe siècle', *Francia*, V (1977), 51-53.

holy places, and seeing the potential that these foreign lands had for plunder and conquest.¹²

Together with the young aristocrats who were looking for lands elsewhere, there were also powerful heirs and lords in Normandy, who saw foreign exploration and conquest as a profitable way of increasing wealth in periods where the political realities of Normandy made their affiliations hard to sustain.¹³ Although Normandy was quite efficiently run, the chronic violence that existed in most of western Europe at the time was also felt in the duchy and wars between the nobles and their overlords were as common as in other parts of western Europe. It was not uncommon for dukes to send their political enemies into exile after a confrontation, causing them to look for new lands to plunder or conquer and settle elsewhere.¹⁴

The Iberian peninsula soon seems to have attracted the Normans who by the first half of the eleventh century were already fighting there on the Christian side of the Iberian conflict. Certainly, the pilgrimage route to Saint James of Compostella, a shrine to one of Christ's apostles, was growing in popularity in this period and it is likely that Norman nobles were among the early pilgrims, who flocked from different parts of France and Germany to the western corner of Galicia.¹⁵ Although the pilgrim traffic towards Galicia began to increase during the second half of the eleventh century when the Muslim

¹² P. Bouet, 'La Conquête', in *Les Normands en Méditerranée*, eds. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 1994), 12-13; France, *The Crusades*, 27.

¹³ Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 119.

¹⁴ Bouet, 'La Conquête', 13.

¹⁵ C. M. Storrs, 'Jacobean Pilgrims to St. James of Compostella', MA Thesis (London, 1964), 36; R. B. Tate, *Pilgrimages to Saint James of Compostella from the British Isles during the Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1990). 8.

threat to the Holy Shrine had subsided, it is probable that the early Frankish or Norman pilgrims to the shrine may have witnessed either al-Mansur's raid of the shrine (997) or its aftermath.¹⁶ The results of this and other destructive raids during the same period on other Iberian cities might have brought the northern pilgrims into contact with the Iberian conflict. On their return home, the pilgrims might have brought news of the destruction, because scattered references to the attack are found in later chronicles in France. According to Arab chronicles, the bells of the cathedral were looted and brought back to Cordova by Christian prisoners.¹⁷ It is hard to know whether there was any outrage caused by this attack in Normandy in particular, since no contemporary record of the event exists there. Hence, the full theological basis for medieval Christian 'Holy War' was not totally formed; no crusade-like expedition was launched after the event. Saint Augustine's arguments for *Bellum iustum* were starting to be addressed but had not been used openly by the Church.¹⁸ Despite of this, these attacks were used as propaganda by the crusaders two centuries later, when the bishop of Porto tried to convince the Anglo-Norman forces who were travelling to the Holy Land as part of the Second Crusade to help the Portuguese monarch in his campaign to conquer Lisbon.¹⁹

¹⁶ H. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal* (London, 1996), 115-119.

¹⁷ Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 120.

¹⁸ C. Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1997), 288-289.

¹⁹ *Sed et ex civibus captivos et circumquaque iacentibus territoriis usque ad ecclesiam beati Iacobi apostoli innumeros fere in patriam suam secum transtulere, non sine nobilium nostrorum sanguine, igne et gladio cetera consumentes omnia. DEL*, 76-79. The Norman participation in the Lisbon campaign will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter.

From the siege of Barbastro in 1064 to the fall of Seville in 1248, many of Normans and the Anglo-Normans who played a role were part of the groups of pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land and to Saint James of Compostella. The Normans and Anglo-Normans, as with other Europeans (Gascons, Franks, Germans, and Italians) who participated in the Iberian wars of reconquest, were encouraged to go on these expeditions for many reasons ranging from the gathering of wealth, to settlement, and spiritual rewards. It is in this area where this thesis is focused, to explain the reasons and motivations of those who, from different parts of Normandy and Norman England, went to Iberia to fight against the Moors before and after the First Crusade.

The Normans were interested in different parts of the peninsula at different periods of time. At the beginning the main theatre of Norman participation was the valley of the Ebro, but later in the mid-twelfth century Anglo-Norman arrivals would concentrate mostly in the Portuguese reconquest. After a series of campaigns in which the Anglo-Norman forces helped the Portuguese capture great numbers of cities on the coast of Portugal until 1217, participation declined drastically in the thirteenth century, in a period in which the greatest conquests of the Iberian *Reconquista* were made by the kings of Castile and Aragon. This period also coincided with the start of more regular diplomatic relations between the Iberian kingdoms, and the English crown, as England acquired lands in south western France.

Norman and Anglo-Norman participants in the Iberian reconquest came from different social groups during different periods. For example, during the late eleventh and early twelfth century the Norman participants in Iberia were mostly from the higher nobility, as in the case of participants like Rotrou of Perche and Roger of Tosny. In the mid-twelfth century, when interest shifted to the western sector of the peninsula, most of the participants were from the lower ranks of the nobility and from other social levels. Therefore, it is important to address the motives that made these different groups of people join the campaigns of reconquest in the Iberian peninsula, both before and after the First Crusade. It is also important to explore the role that Cluniac influence had in promulgating crusading throughout Europe. With relation to Normans who managed to acquire land in other parts of the Mediterranean world, those who came to Iberia were often attracted to conquer territories for themselves, as can be seen in the careers of Rotrou of Perche, Robert Burdet, Gerald of Hastings and other less important Normans who settled in Lisbon, Tortosa and Seville when these cities fell to combined Christian forces. The impact and the fate of the Norman communities and adventurers will also be examined as part of the crusading thrust of the period and the Norman tradition of exploration and conquest.

To discuss these ideas, the remainder of this thesis is divided into four chapters, which will follow the chronology of events of the Iberian reconquest and the rise and decline of the Norman participation from the eleventh century to the thirteenth. Chapter Two will address Cluniac influence in the minds of the Normans and the original reasoning behind the Norman expeditions into

Aragon and Catalonia. This section will also explore the siege of Barbastro, the first major Norman participation in the Iberian reconquest. It will also try to identify how strong religious motivation was amongst these early adventurers in the peninsula. It will also investigate the origins of the early Norman participants in the Iberian theatre as part of the outward movement of the Norman nobility to find new territories to conquer.

The third chapter will explore the sharp decline of the Norman involvement in Iberia as a result of the Norman conquest of England and the proclamation of the First Crusade to Palestine. Then it will address the careers of Rotrou of Perche and Robert Burdet and other Normans who came to Aragon between 1105 and 1135. These were probably the most successful Norman lords to have acquired land and status in Iberia. Rotrou, who was already a relatively prestigious count of Perche and a crusader, managed to acquire extensive lordships in Navarre and Aragon. Robert, on the other hand, managed to acquire a semi-independent principality in Tarragona which, although it did not last very long, placed his family and descendants firmly among the Catalan nobility. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the growth of the influence of crusading among the Norman nobility and on both lords going to Iberia to fight against the Moors.

The fourth chapter will explore the Second Crusade (1147-1149) and its impact on the peninsula. It focuses on the Anglo-Normans in the conquests of Lisbon and Tortosa and the careers and motives of crusaders like Gerald of Hastings, Harvey of Glanville, Gerald Anglici and Saher of Archell. In order to

determine the reasoning behind the participation, this chapter will explore the influence that the 'Anarchy' of King Stephen of England might have had on their decision to absent themselves from England permanently or temporarily and other motives that inspired these Anglo-Normans to fight in Lisbon and Tortosa. This chapter will also look at why the Second Crusade represented the largest movement of Anglo-Normans into Iberia both as settlers and as conquerors and at the changing nature of the Norman participants in these campaigns in comparison with the early adventurers.

The fifth chapter will discuss the arrival of Anglo-Normans in Portugal from the late twelfth century to 1217. It will investigate in some detail the impact of the Third Crusade. It will look at the growing relationship between the Portuguese kingdom and England during this period. It will explore the decline of the Anglo-Norman participation in the Iberian wars against the Moors in relation to the great campaigns of Fernando III and Jaime I. This chapter will identify factors that resulted in a sharp decline in the Anglo-Norman presence in the Iberian campaigns. Finally, it will cover the growing interest of the English monarchy in creating political alliances with the Iberian monarchs and the failed attempts by the Iberian kings to attract the English monarchs to the Iberian crusades.

Finally, the thesis will conclude with an assessment of the causes that help produced the different patterns of Norman and Anglo-Norman involvement in relation to different political, religious, and social circumstances in Iberia and the Anglo-Norman domains.

Historiography of the *Reconquista* and the Crusades

In the second half of the twentieth century historians in England like Tyerman, Evans, Lloyd and Riley-Smith have investigated in detail the English participation in the crusades, especially in the East.²⁰ However, English involvement in the Iberian theatre of crusading has been largely ignored. The Iberian reconquest has traditionally been an area of the crusading movement, which has been seen from the Iberian perspective, since most of the historiography on the subject has been written in Spain and Portugal. Whilst in England and France the subject has been largely neglected there are some clear exceptions: important early work was done in France by Dozy, Boissonade and Defourneaux.²¹ In the United States there has been some interest in individual parts of the subject, for example C. W. David's translation and edition of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*; the research undertaken by McCrank on Robert Burdet and O'Callaghan's many works. In Britain Lomax, Fletcher, Barton, Forey, Tate and Linehan have also expanded the field giving a fresh perspective to the Iberian struggle.²²

²⁰ C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (Chicago, 1988); S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade* (Oxford, 1988); J. Riley-Smith and L. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: idea and Reality* (London, 1981); J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (Basingstoke, 1992); M. Evans, 'The Crusades and Society in the English Midlands', PhD thesis (Nottingham, 1997).

²¹ *RHLE*, 250-331; P. Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale contre les sarrasins d'Espagne - Barbastro', *RQH*, XXI (1932), 257-301; M. Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1949), 10-166,

²² D. W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1978), 70-78; D. W. Lomax, 'The First English Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela', in *God and Man in Medieval Spain: Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis* (London, 1985), 165-175; R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: the life and times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), 1-96; R. A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain', *TRHS*, XXXVII (1987), 31-47; S. Barton, 'Traitor to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb c. 1100-1300', in *Medieval Spain, Culture, Conflict and Coexistence, Studies in Honour of Angus Mackay*, eds. R. Collins and A. Goodman (Basingstoke, 2002), 23-45; P. Linehan, 'Religion, Nationalism and National identity in Medieval Spain and Portugal', in *Religion and National Identity: Studies in Church History*, XVIII (Oxford, 1982), 161-199.

During the twentieth-century Spain suffered greatly from a civil war (1936-1939) that created a polarization in Spanish society, which had a great impact on visions of the *Reconquista*, something that is less obvious in the work of non-Iberian historians.²³ However, the modern appraisal of those who took part and scope of these conflicts was mostly written in Spain and Portugal under the influence of nationalist and separatist tendencies, which may explain the great indifference that, until relatively recently many historians in Spain have felt towards the northern European participation in Iberia as a whole, or even in particular regions. Moreover, even when Spanish historians like Menéndez Pidal, Sanchez Albornoz, Castro and Soldevila entered the field, they had a tendency to try to justify their regional or nationalist agenda with relation to the foreign participation, either by diminishing its importance or by relating their 'national' identities (i.e. Catalan, Aragonese, Navarrese, Castilian...) to the introduction of non-Iberian blood into their region.²⁴

Historiography of the Anglo-Norman Involvement

It is certainly true that non-Iberian participation in the campaigns of the *Reconquista* was not as important as that of the Franks or the Anglo-Normans in the Holy Land. The first modern historians to research the subject of non-Iberian participation in the Iberian reconquest were the French scholars Dozy and Boissonade, who tried to highlight the importance of the Franks in the reconquest. However research by French and some Spanish historians in the last sixty years has shown a more critical appraisal of the number of southern

²³ Linehan, 'Religion, Nationalism and National identity', 161-199.

²⁴ J. Vald  n, *Aproximaci  n hist  rica a Castilla y Le  n* (Valladolid, 1983), 9-12; B. A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished* (Cambridge, 2004), 6.

French aristocrats who played a part in the early stages of the *Reconquista*. Dozy, as well as Defourneaux, demonstrated from the late nineteenth century, the increasing participation of French nobles in the campaigns of reconquest in the Navarro-Aragonese and Catalan reconquest of the Ebro valley since the eighth century.²⁵ Dozy and Defourneaux also produced surveys of the Norman, Frankish, Gascon and Occitan participation in the Iberian *Reconquista*.²⁶ Lomax in his many works on the Iberian *Reconquista* and pilgrims to Saint James also mentioned the English participation in these wars, although not in great detail.²⁷ Other more recent historians like Ferreiro Alemparte have also shown the arrival of Nordic people on the coast of the Iberian peninsula from the very early stages of the Iberian *Reconquista*, both as raiders and as helpers in the Iberian struggle against the Moors.²⁸ Although many other historians have examined the non-Iberian participation in the *Reconquista*, none have analysed the Norman and Anglo-Norman participation from its beginnings in the early eleventh-century to its final decline in the early thirteenth century in the Iberian theatre of crusade. Nor has there been much interest in the consequences of Anglo-Norman participation and the origins and motives of those Anglo-Normans who went to Spain in military expeditions before and after the First Crusade to the Holy Land.

²⁵ *RLHE*, II, 300-340; Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 155-166.

²⁶ Ibidem; J. M. Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro', in *EEMCA*, II (Saragossa, 1946), 489-492; J. M. Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el batallador* (Saragossa, 1971), 63-88; J. M. Lacarra, 'La restauración eclesiástica en la tierras conquistadas por Alfonso el Batallador' *RPH* IV (Lisbon, 1949), 265-286; J. M. Lacarra, 'La conquista de Zaragoza por Alfonso I', *Al-Andalus*, XII (Madrid, 1949), 65-96.

²⁷ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 70-78; Lomax, 'The First English Pilgrims to Santiago', 165-175.

²⁸ Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 13-62.

The conquest of Barbastro has been thoroughly researched and no new evidence has come to light, so it is difficult to develop new ideas relating to Norman participation. On the other hand, this event is an area of great debate, with regard to the conundrum of whether it was in substance a crusade. Moreover, this discussion revolves around the way in which one can interpret the letter of Pope Alexander II in which he proclaimed the religious advantages of taking part in the expedition.²⁹ In this document lies the problem of the discussion between some Spanish and French hispanists on one hand and British and American historians on the other, it is also central to discussions between Spanish nationalist historians led by Menéndez Pidal together with some French hispanists (Dozy Defourneaux, Boissonade).³⁰ They see the letter of Alexander II as a clear indication that the crusader movement started in Spain in the eleventh century before the First Crusade. This argument was partially accepted by Erdmann, whose 'generalist' position saw the crusading movement as the transformation of the Christian idea of Holy War.³¹ However, more recent historians from Britain, France, Germany and the United States have dismissed this line of reasoning, using arguments based on the ambiguity of the letter with regards to the expedition to argue that it was not a crusade.³² These arguments have monopolised the study of the Barbastro campaign, which in this work will be explored as part of the

²⁹ BL, Additional Manuscript 8873, fol. 48r-v; M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 1993), 74-76; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 257-301; J. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada en España* (Vitoria, 1958), 44-46; A. Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro 1064-65: a reassessment' *JMH*, IX (1983), 129-144.

³⁰ *RHLE*, 335-350; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I (Madrid, 1956), 148-149; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande Croisade internationale', 271-275; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 50-52; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, 147-151; F. Soldevila, *Historia de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1963), 102-103.

³¹ Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 288-289.

³² Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 59; Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain', 42; M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 1993), 76.

ongoing movement of the Norman nobility to conquer territories, before and after the First Crusade.³³ However because the crusades had a strong influence on the way the Norman nobility saw the Iberian *Reconquista* in the twelfth century,³⁴ the historiographical discussion will be explored further.

The arguments for and against the crusading nature of the Barbastro campaign bring religious motivation into the discussion of Norman participation: how strong was it among the early Normans in Spain? To explore the increasing religious inspiration behind the Norman participation and how the Normans came to know about the Iberian conflict, historians like Dozy, Boissonade, Defourneaux and Erdmann tried to relate the evidence to the rise of Cluny.³⁵ This monastic house greatly influenced France and Spain and brought revolutionary ideas of church unity, which have been seen by many historians as the main forces in the formation of the crusading ideal at the end of the eleventh century. Due to these factors it is important to address the possibility that this monastic order, which received great patronage from the Iberian monarchs, may have helped to encourage the Iberian Christians in their war with the infidels. Perhaps they were specifically interested in promoting cross-Pyrenean, in this case Norman participation in the Iberian conflict.

³³ D. Douglas, *The Norman Achievement* (Barkley, 1969), 44-67.

³⁴ France, *The Crusades*, 31.

³⁵ Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 288-289; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 257-301; V. Cantarino, 'The Spanish Reconquest: A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' in *Islam and the Medieval West*, ed K. I. Semaan (Albany, 1980), 88-89; E. Delaruelle, 'The crusading idea in the Cluniac literature of the eleventh century', in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. N. Hunt (London, 1971), 209-210.

One explanation for the motivation of many of the participants in the crusade has been the theory of greedy younger sons.³⁶ This line of thought argues that the crusades in general represented an opportunity for younger less well off knights and nobles to enrich themselves since they possessed no inheritance at home. However, this cliché of crusading historiography has been challenged by historians like Riley-Smith, Housley, Jotischky and Tyerman, who have shown that crusading was an expensive enterprise and that many of those involved had to undertake great financial sacrifices to attempt a journey which, in the great majority of cases, did not produce any substantial financial benefits.³⁷ They have shown in this way that the religious nature of the crusades was an ever-present motivation behind the decision of many of the participants who took part. The arguments against the materialist view of younger sons tend to be focused on the First Crusade, as in this case; the participants had a more uncertain view of the final outcome of the expedition beyond perhaps the conquest of Jerusalem. It is certain that the majority of those involved in the First Crusade, had a very vague idea of what they could expect to find in the Holy Land. Tyerman has also pointed out that only a small percentage of the crusaders were actually free to decide whether to go or not. Foot soldiers or family members of a great lord usually went because of their obligations as vassals rather than through free will.³⁸

³⁶ G. Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1971), 435, 465-467; Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, 120.

³⁷ Riley-Smith, *What were The Crusades*, 43-44; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of Crusading* (London, 1977), 42; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 13; N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), 90-91; A. Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow, 2004), 12; Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy Wars and the Crusades* (Oxford, 2004), 139.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

Despite these arguments, Housley has accepted that in certain cases like that of Tancred and Bohemund the materialist perspective is applicable.³⁹ Furthermore, the claim that the crusades were mostly manned by younger sons is certainly an exaggeration but the concept that in some regions of Europe like Normandy, some younger sons saw the crusades as an opportunity for riches cannot be completely ignored. Even when this was the case especially, in relation to the Holy Land and to less-well-off participants, they would have been forced by the costs of the venture to be attached to one of the main lords in their region. Also, in the specific case of the Iberian struggle before the First Crusade, there are known cases like that of Robert Crispin where a younger son was involved in a military expedition against the Moors.⁴⁰ As was the case in the Holy Land, the knights and barons who took part were inspired by various motives, but in many cases the ones interested in material gain were more commonly interested in moveable wealth than in actual conquest and settlement. There were also certain people from the lower nobility and merchants who seemed to have perceived the crusades as an opportunity to find lands to settle and whilst simultaneously gaining spiritual rewards.

Rotrou of Perche's and Robert Burdet's careers in Spain however, have been less researched than those of their fellow Normans in Sicily, Antioch and England. A reason might have been the fact that other areas of Europe and the near east where Normans were involved had clearer a legacy in

³⁹ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 90-91.

⁴⁰ Milo Crispin, 'Milo Crispin, 'On the Origins of the Crispin Family', in *The Normans in European History*, ed. E. Van Houts (Manchester, 2000), 84-85.

comparison with those of Rotrou and Robert Burdet in Spain. For the involvement of both Rotrou of Perche and Robert Burdet, there has been a series of publications written on both sides of the Atlantic. Nelson wrote a critical article on his participation in the conquest of Saragossa and Tudela, which shed light on the fact that the claim of the *Chronicle of San Juan de La Peña* that this Norman lord had been present in the conquest of these two cities was apocryphal.⁴¹ Also, in her book on the county of Perche, Kathleen Thompson, dedicated a sub-chapter to Rotrou's participation in Aragon and addressed his contacts with the Aragonese monarch and his relationship with Garcia Ramirez, later king of Navarre.⁴² Apart from these two works, research by Lacarra, Dozy and Defourneaux on the French in Spain are certainly the most relevant studies that have been written on Rotrou's Iberian involvement.⁴³

The most important written work on Robert Burdet by far has been McCrank's article. This contains a survey of Robert's career in Catalonia with respect to his tenure of the principality of Tarragona.⁴⁴ Catalan historians have also researched Robert's career and rule of Tarragona since the eighteenth century. The first of these historians was Morera i Llauredó, who in his book on the history of the archdiocese, surveyed Robert's rule over Tarragona. Although he did not explore the reasons for the Norman arrival in Spain, he

⁴¹ L. Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche and the Aragonese Reconquest', *Traditio*, XXVI (1970), 113-133.

⁴² K. Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of Perche* (Woodbridge, 2002), 71-78.

⁴³ *RHLE*, 332-371; Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 125-257; Lacarra, 'La conquista de Zaragoza', 66-96.

⁴⁴ L. J. McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest: Robert Burdet and the Principality of Tarragona', *JMH*, VII (1981), 67-82.

suggested that Archbishop Oleguer chose Robert under the influence of the bishop of Vic.⁴⁵ Miret i Sans also seemed to have been interested in the career of Robert Burdet in Tarragona, and expanded interest in the field of Robert's family in Catalonia. Jordà Fernández has written an article on the legal significance of Robert's title of "Princeps" or Prince as an example of the gradual introduction of Roman law into Catalonia. Benito Ruano studied the donation of the principality by Archbishop Oleguer to Robert in 1128/29 and the confirmation by Bernard Tort in 1148.⁴⁶

Historians have tended to use the term feudalism since the seventeenth century to define a multiplicity of constructs and to generalize Europe's social and political structures throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. Marx's vision of feudalism as an economic structure in which the nobles possess the land and the power and the peasantry work the land has been a very influential perspective among historians for some time.⁴⁷ Others especially in the medieval field produced a further definition. Ganshof defined feudalism as a political structure where the warrior elite maintains a system of personal relationships that ultimately would lead towards the formation of parliamentary structures.⁴⁸

Today the term is used controversially, since its definition has varied from author to author to such a degree that there seems to be no real consensus about its exact meaning. Ganshof's grand definition has been

⁴⁵ J. Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologide la Santa Església Metropolitana i Primada de Tarragona*, ed. J. Icart (Tarragona, 1985), 82.

⁴⁶ E. Benito Ruano, 'El principado de Tarragona', in *Misel·lània Ramon d'Abadal, estudis universitaris catalans* (Barcelona, 1994), 107-119.

⁴⁷ K. Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. A. J. P. Taylor (London, 1967), 79-80.

⁴⁸ F. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, trans. P. Grierson (London, 1952), xvii.

challenged by the local studies of Duby and Bonnassie that have shown that far from having a homogenous idea of feudal society, western Europe throughout the medieval period possessed a great variety of structures.⁴⁹ E. Brown and S. Reynolds have shown convincingly the terms feudal and feudalism are vague and do not represent a consistent view of the ever changing political and social structures of Medieval Europe at any specific time.⁵⁰ Reynolds however, has been most apprehensive about completely replacing the term, but agrees that it should only be use sporadically without a clear and less controversial definition.⁵¹ This thesis will not use the term to avoid confusion. Furthermore it seems unnecessary for the subject. Instead this thesis will use the terms in the original documents to describe political and social relationship between individuals.

The siege of Lisbon is by far the most well-researched area of the Second Crusade in the Iberian peninsula in England, thanks to the existence of a group of chronicles, which relate in great detail the events that led to the conquest of this Iberian city. The most important source is the Cambridge manuscript known as the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, which has been edited and translated by C. W. David providing the most detailed narration of the siege of Lisbon that exists.⁵² The fact that the English played such a vital role in this campaign seems to have attracted great attention from modern British historians, although their Portuguese counterparts have not been so excited

⁴⁹ Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, 177-178; P. Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1991), 319-340.

⁵⁰ E. Brown, 'The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe', *American Historical Review*, LXXIX (1974), 1086-1088; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals* (Oxford, 1994), 1-16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵² *DEL*, 52-185.

about these events of the conquest of Lisbon. Most English books written on the Second Crusade contain a section on the conquest of Lisbon.⁵³ However, the existence of this famous English chronicle on the conquest of Lisbon has encouraged most historians to replicate the narrative of the chronicle without looking at other sources, especially the Portuguese.⁵⁴ Among English historians who have written extensively on the conquest, Livermore included a whole chapter on the Lisbon campaign in his history of Portugal.⁵⁵

Although in Portugal the conquest of Lisbon has received less interest than it deserves, there has been an important group of general publications which have dealt with different aspects of the siege and conquest of the modern Portuguese capital. D. Peres has a good survey of the conquest not only from the crusaders' perspective,⁵⁶ but also from the Portuguese side, looking at the political motives and manoeuvres of Afonso I Henriques to attract the attention of the crusaders to participate in the Lisbon campaign.⁵⁷ Apart from this work, since the late nineteenth century there has been a series of monumental works on the history of Portugal, which have dedicated at least a section to the events leading to the conquest of the city and its repercussions. Knowing the importance of the conquest of this city to the

⁵³ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 32-33; M. Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon, 1147', in *The Second Crusade, scope and consequence*, eds. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 71-89; G. Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', *Speculum*, XXVIII (1954), 525-526.

⁵⁴ C. W. David, 'The Authorship of the Expugnatio Lyxbonensi', *Speculum*, VII (1932), 50-57; H. Livermore, 'The conquest of Lisbon and its Author', *Portuguese Studies*, VI (1990), 1-16.

⁵⁵ H. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge, 1947), 61-82.

⁵⁶ Three other letters written by Crusaders on the conquest of Lisbon were published by A. Pimenta, *Fontes medievais da história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1948), 124-140; S. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, Saint Bernard and the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade*, eds. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 54-69.

⁵⁷ *História de Portugal edição monumental*, II, ed. D. Peres (Barcelos, 1929), 52-67.

history of Portugal some have underplayed the importance of the crusaders in comparison with the might of the first Portuguese monarch, Afonso I Henriques.⁵⁸

However, since the 1940s which saw the eight hundredth anniversary of the siege of Lisbon in 1147, Portuguese historians started to write books specifically on the conquest of the Portuguese capital by the crusaders and Afonso I Henriques in 1147. Among them was Pimenta who wrote a great work on medieval sources **for** Portuguese history. This contains extracts from most of the sources for the conquest of Lisbon. Unfortunately, the Portuguese narrative sources that survived were mostly written in the thirteenth century and later. However, there are some modern Portuguese historians like A. Viera da Silva who have written specifically on the fortifications of the city and Costa Brachado who wrote a monograph on the conquest with a Portuguese translation of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*.⁵⁹

With regards to the other two great expeditions in the Iberian *Reconquista* that took place under the crusading proclamation of the Second Crusade, almost nothing has been written regarding the participation of non-Iberians. On the conquest of Almeria by Alfonso VII a substantial number of Spanish, American, German, British, Italian and French historians have written articles and books on the subject but they have not given much consideration to the non-Iberian contingents apart from the Genoese, who played a vital role

⁵⁸ For example: F. de Almeida, *Historia de Portugal* I (Lisbon, 1922), 150-218.

⁵⁹ A. Vieira da Silva, *A cerca maura de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1939); C Brachado, *A conquista de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1948), 9-72.

in the planning and conquest of the Mediterranean port.⁶⁰ Of course, the lack of documentary sources on these expeditions may help to explain the lack of any article on the Norman participation. However, on the Barcelonese conquest of Tortosa there has been some research in recent years. Perhaps Miravall has been the most interested in the subject of Anglo-Norman immigration into Tortosa and the establishment of foreign participants in the city after its conquest.⁶¹ The German historian N. Jaspert, also, has published on the subject of the crusading nature of this expedition led by Ramon Berenguer IV.⁶²

On the other Anglo-Norman expeditions to Portugal, much less has been researched. Herculano mentioned them in his magisterial work on the history of Portugal,⁶³ but perhaps the most important work so far on the Norman crusaders in Portugal, has been written by Ferreiro Alemparte.⁶⁴ In this he explored the role played by the Normans, Flemish, Frisians and Germans in the campaigns of the Iberian *Reconquista* from the early ninth century to 1217. He dedicates most of his work to the siege of Alcazer do Sal in 1217, basing his research on the Dutch *Annals of Emon of Floridus Hortus* which he edited and translated. During this period, there is also an increase in Anglo-Iberian relations, especially as Henry II acquired from his wife the

⁶⁰ B. Gari, 'Why Almeria? An Islamic port in the compass of Genoa', *JMH*, XVIII (1992), 211-233; J. B. Williams, 'The Making of a Crusade: Anti-Muslim Attacks in Spain, 1146-1148', *JMH*, XXIII (1997), 29-53; M. Á. Ladero Quesada, 'Segunda parte: Castilla y León: Capitulo I: El imperio de Alfonso VII', in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal: La reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política (1035-1217)*, IX, ed. M. Á. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1998), 423-425.

⁶¹ R. Miravall, *Immigració Britànica a Tortosa* (Barcelona, 1972), 3-78.

⁶² N. Jaspert, 'Capta est Dertosa clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the Crusades', in *The Second Crusade: scope and consequences*, eds. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 90-110.

⁶³ A. Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, I (Lisbon, 1856), 392-405.

⁶⁴ Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 93-224.

dominion of Aquitaine. The desire of the English monarchs to protect their southern border helped to make the new English dynasty more aware of the Iberian political scene and the process of reconquest taking place in this area of Europe. On this development of diplomatic relations a great deal of research has been done, especially on the area concerning the campaigns in southern France.⁶⁵ However, the diplomacy was not limited to the protection of Gascony; as Lomax showed, Henry II was interested in the events of the reconquest and even bequeathed some money to the emerging Spanish military order of Saint James.⁶⁶ It has also been suggested that he might have planned to go to Spain to do penance for the murder of Thomas Becket.⁶⁷ These early diplomatic dealings have also been researched in some depth in Spain since the early twentieth century, as an article written by Fita shows. He deals specifically with the life and deeds of Eleanor Plantagenet the daughter of Henry II who married Alfonso VIII of Castile, but he also explores the diplomatic dealings between the two monarchs.⁶⁸ F. Luis Corral more recently has been interested in Henry II's arbitration of the dispute between Alfonso VIII of Castile and Sancho VI of Navarre.⁶⁹ Henry II and his successors were also keen to form close alliances with the rulers of the crown of Aragon as a way to support their ambitions in southern France.

⁶⁵ R. Barber, *Henry Plantagenet* (Ipswich, 2001), 95-96, 134; W. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973).

⁶⁶ J. López Argüeta, ed., *Bullarium equestris ordinis Jacobi de Spatha* (Madrid, 1719), 30.

⁶⁷ A. J. Duggan, 'Diplomacy, Status and Conscience: Henry II's Penance for Becket's Murder', in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, ed. K. Borchard and E. Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), I, 257.

⁶⁸ R. P. F. Fita, *Elogio de la reina de Castilla y esposa de Alfonso VIII, Doña Leonor de Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1908), 5-24.

⁶⁹ F. Luis Corral, 'Alfonso VIII of Castile's Judicial Process at the Court of Henry II of England: An Effective and Valid Arbitration', *NMS*, L (2006), 22-42.

On the decline of the Anglo-Norman participation in the Iberian reconquest nothing appears to have been written in either English or Spanish. The increase of diplomatic relations between the kingdoms of the peninsula and England during the reigns of John and Henry III have been explored by several historians as part of the history of the diplomatic relations between Iberia and England, especially as a prelude to the Hundred Years War.⁷⁰ Therefore, the focus of most historians who have looked at the subject is from the perspective of the question of Gascony, the increased tensions between the kings of France and England and the role of the Iberian monarchs in these disputes. The question of English participation in the Iberian reconquest in the first half of the thirteenth century has been left to short mentions of diplomatic contacts and English crusaders in Iberia, like that of Tyerman and Lomax and Spanish surveys of repopulation like that of Gonzalez.⁷¹ It is therefore in this area where the more innovative focus of this study will be, exploring the reasons for the sharp decline of the Norman participation in the Iberian *Reconquista* after the fall of Alcazer do Sal.

'Reconquista', defining the term

The *Reconquista* is a term that Iberian historiography has used to describe what the early modernists and Spanish nationalists were keen to see in the history of Spain: a continuous progression towards the reunification of

⁷⁰ A. Goodman, 'England and Iberia in the Middle Ages', in *England and Her Neighbours 1066-1453*, eds. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London, 1989), 73-96; P. Russell, *The English Interventions in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), 5-10.

⁷¹ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 89; J. González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, I (Madrid, 1993), 332, 346, 547.

Spain under a single ruling dynasty i.e a Visigothic restoration.⁷² This may also have been the interpretation that the authors of many chronicles in the medieval period had of it.⁷³ Even some post-Franco historians compared the *Reconquista* with other European expansions as part of the formation of Iberian identity.⁷⁴ Of course this idea of a unifying factor in the Middle Ages seems to offend those who see the period as a defining moment for the formation of their own different identities within the peninsula. For this reason, the term has usually been associated with Spanish nationalism and it is, therefore opposed by some historians in the peninsula.⁷⁵ Their main argument is that although the Leonese and Castilians used the term to describe a process of restoring what they considered to have been the ancient Visigothic kingdom, their claim to it was not a legitimate one, because with the Arab invasion the Visigothic structures had completely disappeared. As this had happened, in their view all the Christian realms which arose gradually were equally related or unrelated to the Visigoths.⁷⁶ In other words the claim to a Visigothic restoration was not legitimate since none of the Christian realms was a direct descendant of the Visigothic dynasty that had ruled the peninsula before the Arab invasion of 711. Furthermore, Linehan, suggested that the Asturians who were apparently led by the legendary Pelayo were not really Visigoths, but Basques and other groups that had never been placed under

⁷² J. A. Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1954), 249-257; P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 2003), 78-81.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 96-127.

⁷⁴ J. Valdéron, J. M. Salrach and J. Zabalo eds., *Feudalismo y consolidación de los pueblos hispánicos* (Madrid, 1982), 11-12; Maravall, *El concepto de España*, 263-277.

⁷⁵ R. Menéndez Pidal, *The Spanish and their History*, trans. W. Starkie (New York, 1950), 1-54; Maravall, *El concepto de España*, 263-341.

⁷⁶ Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 82-83, 95-127; M. A. Ladero Quesada, 'Introducción', in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal: La Reconquista y el periodo de diferenciación política (1035-1217)*, IX, ed. M. A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1998), 14-15.

the control of the Visigothic kingdom.⁷⁷ However, the myths used as medieval and modern propaganda might have been a powerful motivating force for the participants in the struggle against Islam throughout the Middle Ages.⁷⁸

In his many works regarding 'El Cid' and the Spanish reconquest, the famous but controversial historian, Menéndez Pidal, always suggests the inevitability of the Castilian leadership and supremacy in the Iberian peninsula from the early Middle Ages. Similarly, Sanchez Albornoz and Perez Urbel saw Spanish history and in essence the *Reconquista* as a continuous struggle by an eternal Spain against many foreign invaders, as Catlos and Linehan have noted.⁷⁹ Menéndez Pidal was even prepared to claim that the First Crusade's settlements in the Holy Land were directly influenced by El Cid's principality in Valencia.⁸⁰ Portuguese historians like Herculano and Peres, although relatively nationalistic in their views over the Anglo-Norman participation in Lisbon, have been less affected by the internal nationalities that reappeared and divided Spain in the last century. On the other hand, more contemporary Iberian historians have acknowledged to some degree this problem of nationalism and regionalism, considered still very widespread in Spain despite the introduction of democracy and federalism.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 14.

⁷⁸ France, *The Crusades*, 31.

⁷⁹ P. Linehan, 'At the Spanish Frontier', in *The Medieval World*, eds. P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London, 2001), 37-59; Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*, 6; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 19.

⁸⁰ Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, II, 578.

⁸¹ V. Pérez Díaz, *Spain at the Crossroads* (London, 1999), 151-172; M. Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism: Fracoism, Transition and Democracy* (London, 2004), 15-33.

Whether or not the Leonese and their Castilian successors had a legitimate claim to the Visigothic crown, it is apparent that all the Christian rulers of the peninsula throughout the medieval period saw the expulsion of the Muslims as a pressing necessity.⁸² This was for a variety of reasons that included increasing population and economic pressures as well as gradual but not always completely widespread religious hatred towards the other. Therefore, the word *Reconquista* could be used to define this gradual process, which many perceived to be occurring, not as a grand plan for a nation but the result of a gradual antagonism between the Christians and the Muslims, for many reasons. Moreover, as this thesis will explore, the religious nature of this conflict was used from an earlier period. Despite this, it was the crusading movement that produced a renewed and invigorating theological aura after the success of the First Crusade to Palestine, to the Iberian struggle against Islam.⁸³ However, it is noticeable that even in the periods when the war against the Muslims was perceived to be divinely inspired, other reasons also played an important role to encourage a limited number of the upper nobility to join the side of their apparent religious enemies as Barton has shown.⁸⁴

Defining 'Crusade'

An important concept that has to be addressed for the subject of the thesis, is the understanding of what makes a crusade. This is a debated subject that could occupy an entire thesis. In essence there are four great

⁸² Valdéon, Salrach and Zabalo eds., *Feudalismo y consolidación de los pueblos hispánicos*, 12-14; N. Jaspert, *The Crusades*, trans. G. Jestic (London, 2006), 116-117.

⁸³ M. Torres Sevilla Quiñones de León, *Las batallas legendarias y el oficio de la guerra* (Barcelona, 2002), 225.

⁸⁴ Barton, 'Traitor to the Faith?' 23-43.

camps in the modern historiographical debate on the subject: the 'traditionalists', and 'popularists' on the one hand and the 'generalists' and 'pluralists' on the other.⁸⁵ The traditionalists, led by Mayer and supported more recently to a certain extent by both Jotischky and Tyerman, follow the line that a crusade is a military expedition whose main aim is the conquest or defence of the Holy Land. This line of thought would clearly indicate that all the Iberian military expeditions were not crusades because their aim was the Holy Land. The 'popularists' are a small group of historians who see the crusades as result of the popular piety of the time in which they occurred and they are happy to include any large pilgrimage that happened that did not have a direct connection with the papacy. The 'generalists' on the other hand led by Erdmann believe that crusades were the result of an ongoing Christian transformation of the ideas of Holy War since the early church.⁸⁶

There has been another line of thought that since the 1970's has been very influential in the understanding of what makes a crusade. This is the 'Pluralists' point of view, led by recognized crusading historians like Riley-Smith, Housley, Phillips and Siberry.⁸⁷ They look, as Housley has put it: 'For papal validation, the granting of crusade status, preaching, evidence of recruitment. If such features are present, then a crusade took place, irrespective of where war was fought, of the nature of the conflict and of the

⁸⁵ *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, 2001), 10-15; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 2-13.

⁸⁶ H. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1988), 28; Jotischky, *Crusading*, 10-11.

⁸⁷ Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?* 86-89; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (London, 2001), xxvii-xxx; N. Housley, *The later Crusades from Lyons to Alcazar 1274-1580* (Oxford, 1992), 1-4; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 18-23; E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985), vii-viii.

offence caused to modern sensibilities.’⁸⁸ This approach is more inclusive and seems to agree better with the traditional Iberian approach championed by Goñi Gaztambide, Lomax and O’Callaghan, that places Iberia at the centre of the crusading movement.⁸⁹

Furthermore, Tyerman pointed out that the terms ‘crusade’ and ‘crusaders’ were not used by chroniclers to describe these military ventures until the first half of the thirteenth century,⁹⁰ something that has also been addressed by Housley and others.⁹¹ Logically, all crusader historians that have had a look at the primary material have noted this fact.⁹² Moreover this could be used to argue that contemporaries did not differentiate between a peaceful pilgrimage and a military one until the thirteenth century, which might not be entirely the case although the documentary and narrative material does not give a clear differentiation between the two.⁹³ Tyerman’s argument does not rely on this technicality only, but he also addressed a more important question of organization, which he claims did not exist until the thirteenth century, after the Third Crusade and the Fourth Lateran Council.⁹⁴ For Tyerman, semantically speaking, the crusades in the Iberian peninsula could be called crusades but they were never seen in the same league as those launched specifically to the Holy Land with Jerusalem as the main objective.⁹⁵ Moreover in Tyerman’s view the church did not possess a clear and

⁸⁸ Housley, *The later Crusades from Lyons to Alcazar*, 2.

⁸⁹ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula la cruzada*, 43-62, 134-185; J. F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2004), 1-4.

⁹⁰ C. Tyerman, ‘Were there any Crusades in the twelfth century?’ *EHR*, CX (1995), 533.

⁹¹ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 7-8.

⁹² Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 3.

⁹³ Tyerman, ‘Were there any Crusades in the twelfth century?’ 555.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 574-577.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 556-561.

developed theological and legal framework to define an expedition as a crusade before 1187.⁹⁶

Of course the pluralist argument of historians like Phillips **is** that the crusading theology and legal framework were not static but evolved over time and therefore it seems artificial to start with the great developments that occurred during the organization of the Third Crusade.⁹⁷ However, this idea also has its problems, since although the majority of crusading historians of all schools seem to agree that the first of the movement was the expedition launched by Urban II in 1095, this argument could be and indeed has been used by hispanists to include other expeditions, which were launched before the 1095 crusade. There is a counter argument to this line of thought by crusading historians like Bull. They point out that the main difference between the holy wars fought before the First Crusade to Palestine and those earlier expeditions against the Muslims in Iberia and elsewhere, was the introduction by Urban II of the idea of remission of sins for the participants, and the whole theological framework created and developed to justify Christian aggression.⁹⁸ This idea has itself been countered by hispanists with arguments that this development already existed before Urban II. Here lies the problem of the concept 'crusade' for the historian, who also has to deal with the popular contemporary understanding of the word.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ C. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 1998), 19.

⁹⁷ Housley, *The later Crusades*, 4-6.

⁹⁸ Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 113-114; Tyerman, 'Were there any Crusades in the twelfth century?' 555.

⁹⁹ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 20-21.

Hispanists have, since the nineteenth century, viewed the Iberian *Reconquista* as part of the crusading movement, as described above. However it was not until the influential work of Goñi Gaztambide that the interest of the papacy was demonstrated by addressing the papal bulls for the Iberian conflict and their involvement in promulgating crusading indulgences.¹⁰⁰ This idea has more recently been reviewed by O'Callaghan and expanded in accordance with the 'pluralists' ideas. Among the non-Iberian hispanists Defourneaux, Lourie, Riley, O'Callaghan, Lomax, Fletcher, Bishko, and Catlos all seem to have used the crusading vocabulary to address the Iberian *Reconquista*.¹⁰¹ Although Barton has been relatively sceptical about the crusading credentials of the *Reconquista*, at least from the perspective of the Iberian nobility and monarchies whose motives seemed to be more financial than religious, his examples are very convincing for the fact that there was co-operation and movement of mercenary armies of both religious faiths across the frontier. This is not necessarily an indication that the Iberians had not sensed that the war against Islam had a religious aura.¹⁰² The fact that at certain points in the history of the peninsular conflict groups of nobles crossed the Christian-Muslim frontier to join the other side can hardly be regarded as proof that the Iberians never really took the crusading ideology very seriously. It is indeed an over-reaction, as it is well known that cross-frontier relations existed, even in the Latin East. However, it is logical to assume that the crusading fervour of the external participants in both the

¹⁰⁰ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula la cruzada*, 63-109.

¹⁰¹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 17-22; Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 156-257; B. F. Riley, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain* (Oxford, 1995), 211-215; C.J. Bishko, 'The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492', in *A History of the Crusades*, III, ed. H. W. Hazard (Wisconsin, 1975), 396-456.

¹⁰² Barton, 'Traitor to the Faith?' *Medieval Spain*, 37-38.

Iberian and the Holy Land theatres was always stronger, since the locals were perhaps less attracted by religious fervour to fight their neighbour and were moved more by more materialistic reasons. However a crusading zeal might have been useful for the Iberian monarchs to attract the involvement of non-Iberians like the Normans to get involved.

As already stated, the main problem with the concept is that contemporaries did not distinguish clearly between 'crusade' or a 'holy war', or a 'pilgrimage' and their views almost certainly changed from region to region and from period to period, making it arbitrary to evaluate from the present what a crusade really is or was, as has been recognized by both Riley-Smith and Housley.¹⁰³ However, for the purpose of this thesis it is imperative to define the use of the word at least in the context of the subject matter.

As the term seems to be completely arbitrary and the arguments as to whether to include certain expeditions and not others are problematic, it seems logical to argue that crusade could be defined simply as a military venture which in the eyes of its participants had received papal dispensation i.e remission of sins, even if in reality it did not. It seems illogical to argue that only those which were directly organized by Rome would be considered worthy by participants and observers who were convinced that what they were doing was God's will and therefore, in their own understanding, they were receiving remission of sins. Moreover, to try to declassify expeditions whose aims were not totally religious in the eyes of modern historians, such as

¹⁰³ Tyerman, 'Were there any Crusades in the twelfth century?' 555; N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 1-13.

Tyerman tries to do, also seems arbitrary. This view of a crusade is perhaps more inclusive, but less precise in differentiating between a holy war and 'crusade.' It is perhaps in accordance with Erdmann's 'generalist' view of the crusades, but it also addresses Tyerman's argument that contemporaries had a less canonical view of what a crusade was.¹⁰⁴ However, there is also a problem with this definition, in the problem that expeditions that had not received direct approval from Rome, could be easily confuse with secular actions. Therefore it will seem that the best definition for the sake of clarity is to used the pluralist line to define the term, stating that there were perhaps some expeditions that by the nature of their aims and the composition should be considered as unofficial crusades.

For although, as it is been argued the Iberian expeditions before the First Crusade to Palestine had started to be seen by the papacy in some religious context, as far as the historical record shows they did not receive any remission of sins. Moreover, since the idea of remission of sins for fighting in a holy cause seems to have been developed for Urban II's crusade, the idea did not exist before 1095 and it is unlikely therefore that the participants were doing it for this particular reason. The only exception to this rule might have been the siege of Barbastro, which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, although the argument here is based on an imprecise letter from the pope, there is no reference to remission of sins, but remission of penance.

¹⁰⁴ Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 68-70, 95-117; Tyerman, 'Were there any Crusades in the twelfth century?' 555.

Chapter II

Early Norman Participation in the Iberian Reconquest and Cluniac Influence (1018-1065)

Norman participation in the Iberian *Reconquista* started in the early eleventh century with their arrival as Christian allies in the long struggle between Muslims and Christians. It was not the first time that these people of Scandinavian ancestry had come to the peninsula, for in the ninth century groups of Vikings had raided its coast in search of gold from both Christian and Muslims alike. Despite this, when Roger of Tosny came to Barcelona in the early eleventh century, he was the first Norman, to come to the peninsula to fight specifically on the side of the Christians. Roger's contribution had perhaps similar motivation to his Viking predecessors, of acquiring booty, but with a newly found loyalty to the Christian religion. The participation of this Norman is an exception during this period and it was not until forty years later in 1064 that a campaign with substantial Norman involvement was undertaken to capture a Muslim city. This was the siege and conquest of Barbastro of 1064, which involved an international coalition of Burgundians, Aquitanians, Normans, Catalans and, possibly, Aragonese in taking this relatively wealthy Muslim border town from its rulers.

Non-Iberian involvement in the wars of reconquest had existed since the early stages of these wars, especially by the peoples of Gascony, the Midi and Provence, who were historically and politically connected to the Christian Iberian peoples of the peninsula. Why was it that these early Norman participants began fighting in Iberia? This chapter will explore the motivation of

these knights and will attempt to judge the evidence and the historical arguments that have taken place over the influence of the monastic order of Cluny on the expansion of the ideas of the reconquest across France and the rest of western Europe. Then it will also try to explore other factors that might have contributed to the interest of the Norman nobility in participating in the Iberian reconquest. It will survey Roger of Tosny's adventure in Barcelona and what can be said about his origins and the motives for his early arrival in Spain. The Barbastro expedition and the motivation and repercussions for the Norman nobility who took part in it, will also be studied to comprehend the rise of the Norman contribution to the Iberian *Reconquista*. This chapter will also examine whether this expedition was a crusade or not, as the *Reconquista* has been considered by some historians as part of a pan-European crusading movement. This is because the motivation of those who took part in the Iberian campaigns was, if not equal then similar to that of those who went on crusade to the Holy Land after the First Crusade.

Was the Iberian idea of *Reconquista* introduced into Normandy in the eleventh century?

The idea that Cluny was responsible or partially responsible for the formation of the idea of crusade, through its interaction with Spain, is one that was first proposed by Boissonade and Hatem.¹⁰⁵ This idea was also addressed by Lomax and Erdmann who saw Cluny as the partial instigator of the idea of Holy War against the Muslims in the peninsula and in this way

¹⁰⁵ A. Hatem, *Les poèmes épiques des croisades, genèse, historicité, localisation* (Paris, 1932), 43-49; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 257-301.

responsible for the later developments that formed the idea of crusade.¹⁰⁶ However, this critical role of Cluny and its abbots as the main theological force in the formation of ideas like the 'Peace of God' and the 'Truce of God', which historians saw as the prelude to the First Crusade, has been reduced by recent interpretations of the material by historians like Cowdrey and Iogna-Prat.¹⁰⁷ Iogna-Prat has argued that although Cluniac abbots had developed an antagonistic vision of Islam they were far from promulgating a proto-crusading message of war against the infidel. Acknowledging this argument, this section will explore the evidence that exists and whether or not it is plausible to assume that Cluny might have been involved in spreading the news of the events of the *Reconquista* to the Normans. The abbey of Cluny, with its reformed idea of Benedictine monasticism, played a vital role in reconnecting the Iberian peninsula with the rest of western Europe during the eleventh century.

In the early decades of the tenth century, when the Norsemen of Scandinavia were beginning to be Christianized and to settle down under the newly formed duchy of Normandy, the monastery of Cluny under the leadership of Berno was being formed.¹⁰⁸ This new monastery was revolutionary in comparison with others being built across Christendom in this period. It had a reforming mission that was influential on both the lay and ecclesiastical authorities of the time, but which was part of ongoing reforming

¹⁰⁶ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 56-57; Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 68-73.

¹⁰⁷ D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion, Cluny and Christendom*, trans. G. R. Edwards (London, 2002), 323-324; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Cluny and the First Crusade', *RB*, LXXXIII (1973), 285-311.

¹⁰⁸ N. Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh* (London, 1967), 21.

processes that had started earlier.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps its most revolutionary feature was its sole dependence on Rome, which gave it great prestige and autonomy that no other monastery could rival.¹¹⁰ Based on this technical factor, Cluniac monasticism was the main force behind the promulgation of the idea that the church should be independent of all secular rulers and should be unified under the single authority of the pope in Rome.¹¹¹

This legal and theological argument went against the most powerful secular rulers in western Europe who for centuries had taken over the appointment of bishops and controlled to a certain degree the Church within their states. Although its religious policy might have clashed with the great secular rulers of western Europe, the fame of sanctity of Cluny attracted the patronage of many nobles from across France, especially to grant them lands and monasteries making them a very powerful institution within the Church hierarchy. Cluniac monasticism, which was created by the visionary, Berno and which Saint Odo expanded, soon started to attract the admiration of other monasteries and its fame extended during the tenth century into almost all the regions of the kingdom of France. However, it was not until the mid-eleventh century during the abbacy of Saint Hugh, that the Cluniac Order started to acquire a great number of dependent monasteries and priories over a much wider geographical region.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ C. B. Bouchard, 'Merovingian, Carolingian and Cluniac Monasticism: Reform and Renewal in Burgundy', *JEH*, XLI (1990), 365-388; France, *The Crusades*, 34-35.

¹¹⁰ Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 90.

¹¹¹ Iogna-Prat, *Cluny and Christendom*, 75-119.

¹¹² Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh*, 124-125.

Monasticism in early eleventh century Normandy was characterized by gradual endowment of the Carolingian foundations by the Norman nobility.¹¹³ According Laporte the dukes of Normandy created a new network of monasteries based on Fécamp, which was inspired by the Cluniac foundation.¹¹⁴ Yet, the influence of Cluny on these monasteries was limited and it is unlikely that their desire to imitate Cluniac habits and structure pushed them into the Cluniac interest in Iberia. Moreover, it was not until the late eleventh century that Normandy and England saw the introduction of monasteries directly controlled by Cluny.¹¹⁵ Therefore, although it has been argued that Cluniac houses might have brought the idea of *Reconquista* to Normandy, this is clearly not so, because when monasteries like Abbeville (1100) and Nogent-le-Rotrou (1082) first came under Cluniac control, there had been at least two waves of Norman expeditions to the Iberian peninsula. In addition, historians like Delaruelle and Iogna-Prat have shown that Cluny was far from being a bastion of crusading ideology.¹¹⁶ They have explained that although Cluny seems to have profited directly from the reconquest there is too little evidence to suggest that they had a continuous policy of aggression to Islam. However, this not to say that they did at certain points give a clear indication that the *Reconquista* was considered to be a just cause.

¹¹³ C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997), 1-35.

¹¹⁴ J. Laporte, 'Un diplôme pour Romainmôtier dans les archives de Fécamp', *Bulletin société des antiquaires de Normandie*, LVI (1963), 415-429.

¹¹⁵ B. Golding, 'The Coming of the Cluniacs', *ANS*, III (1980), 65-71; M. Chibnall, 'Monastic Foundations in England and Normandy, 1066-1189', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), 37.

¹¹⁶ Iogna-Prat, *Cluny and Christendom*, 75-119.

Moreover if Cluny was influenced by the ideas of 'Holy War', which were being proclaimed during this period, it must have been for its contacts with Iberia.¹¹⁷ This is because all documentary sources referring to Cluny seem to suggest that the abbots of Cluny did not possess a clear ideology for 'Holy War' or crusade before the First Crusade to Palestine.¹¹⁸ If the Cluniacs had an influence, it must have been indirect, through areas which came under their influence like Aquitaine and, more relevant, Spain before the Barbastro campaign of 1064. This might have occurred indirectly through encouragement from the reformed papacy, or through contacts between the duchies of Aquitaine and Normandy.¹¹⁹

Although the Normans might not have been influenced by Cluniac monasticism to join the Iberian *Reconquista* within Normandy, they might have been influenced by Cluny with the idea of Holy War in Spain itself, as Cluniac monks started to enter Spain many decades before they entered Normandy. The first monarch of the Iberian peninsula to be attracted to the revolutionary ideas of Cluny was Sancho III (the Great) of Navarre (1000-1035) who maintained close contact with Abbot Odilo and introduced Cluniac-influenced monks like Paternus into his monasteries.¹²⁰ In the reign of Fernando I (1035/7-1065) the empire of Leon came under the protection of Cluny and soon after many of the most important bishoprics and monasteries in his

¹¹⁷ Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 68-72.

¹¹⁸ Delaruelle, 'The Crusading Idea', 209-210; Iogna-Prat, *Cluny and Christendom*, 329-332.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 75-119.

¹²⁰ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), 214-216; France, *The Crusades*, 30.

kingdom came under the sway of the Burgundian monastery.¹²¹ It is important to note that Saint James of Compostella was located within the empire of Leon, which made this kingdom an important destination for hundreds of pilgrims from across Europe, including Normandy. Fernando also won support of Cluny by paying a tribute of two thousands pieces of gold to the monastery from the *Parias* paid by Taifa kingdoms to this Christian monarch.¹²² This tribute, which he started pay in the mid-eleventh century, was a certain indication of the great wealth that this Iberian monarch was able to gain from the Moors.

The Leonese monarchs, with their imperial claim over Spain, received a great number of these tributes from many Taifa kingdoms, which in return were under the protection of the Leonese Empire.¹²³ This situation was relatively contradictory to the ideas of some ecclesiastic authorities, especially those endorsed by the later Gregorian reform in relation to the Muslims. They also created disputes with other Christian Iberian kingdoms as they attempted to conquer cities which were under the protection of the kings of Leon. For example, in Graus in the Taifa kingdom of Saragossa, Fernando I of Leon sent his general Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar (El Cid) to help relieve the Moorish town from a siege attempted by the king of Aragon (1063).¹²⁴ According to Lomax the outrage caused by this incident might have attracted the interest of the

¹²¹ C. J. Bishko, 'Fernando I y los origenes de la alianza castellano-leonesa con Cluny', *CHE*, XLVII (1968), 31-51.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 99-135; Iogna-Prat, *Cluny and Christendom*, 71; Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh*, 79. The *Parias*, were the tribute given by the Taifa kingdoms to the Christian kingdoms and principalities as a sign of submission as vassals or to avoid being attacked by their Christian neighbours.

¹²³ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 52.

¹²⁴ 'Historia Roderici', in *The World of El Cid*, eds. S. Barton and R. Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), 100.

southern French nobility and the papacy in the campaign against Barbastro that was launched a year later.¹²⁵

The influence of Cluny on the monarchs of the peninsula was felt nowhere more strongly than in Leon and Castile. For more than a century the two kingdoms were to have a submissive relationship to the monastery.¹²⁶ For Alfonso VI (1065/72-1109) the Castilian-Leonese monarch who captured Toledo in 1086, Cluniac alliance played a vital role when he came to the throne, after a bitter civil war between himself and his elder brother Sancho. Alfonso then maintained the tribute of two thousands pieces of gold promised by his father. Certainly, this relationship was very profitable for Cluny. Lomax suggested this substantial tribute might have attracted Cluny to the idea of the reconquest. However, the Cluniac interest in Spain was not great until the later decades of the eleventh century, even with the large amount of wealth that it received from Spain.¹²⁷ Whether the Cluniacs actively promulgated the *Reconquista* before the First Crusade is harder to prove and since no convincing evidence has been found it is difficult to form a definite conclusion on the subject. However, as Lomax also suggested, the fact that the name of the Leonese monarch was mentioned by every Cluniac house from Hungary to Scotland might have helped to attract the attention of the Normans, at least at the end of the eleventh century, to participate in the expedition launched against the Moors in France.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 53.

¹²⁶ Bishko, 'Los orígenes de la alianza castellano-leonesa con Cluny', 31.

¹²⁷ Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 218-219.

¹²⁸ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 56-57.

As shown above it seems it would have been impossible for the Normans in the first half of the eleventh century to be influenced by preachers from Cluny, at least in Normandy, which Boissonade suggested inspired French participants to join the *Reconquista*.¹²⁹ This claim has been extended to suggest that Cluny was responsible for the creation of the religious argument for the Iberian conflict in the eleventh century. This idea has been bitterly criticised by Iberian historians who believe that the *Reconquista* was purely an Iberian invention.¹³⁰ It is also important to note that Cluniac houses were very interested in the pilgrimage route to Saint James of Compostella and by the second half of the eleventh century they possessed a number of monasteries and priories on this route.¹³¹ The economic importance of these houses to the Cluniac order and to the Church in general seems to have been considerable, as the pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella started to become very popular among people from all social groups in France with monastic houses serving as hostels for pilgrims going to and coming from Saint James' shrine.¹³² It is almost certain that the monks and nuns living in them were familiar with the expeditions of the *Reconquista* and as the Leonese monarchy increased its political ties with Cluny, they received a substantial amount of wealth from raids and *Parias* gained by the Iberian monarchs from the Moors. It is therefore likely that as Norman pilgrims passed through en route to Saint James of Compostella they were told by Cluniac monks about the importance of the *Reconquista* and the great amount of

¹²⁹ Delaruelle, 'The crusading idea', 191-193; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 257-301.

¹³⁰ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 47-49.

¹³¹ P. Edwards, ed., *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials* (Philadelphia, 1998), 10.

¹³² Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 93-96.

wealth that they might be able to acquire from plunder of the Muslim territories in Spain.¹³³ Of course, even if the monks did not actively preach the value of the *Reconquista* as a Christian duty, a just war or for remission of sins, the great wealth of these monasteries might have caused the Norman visitor to wonder where all the wealth had come from and be introduced then to the idea of the *Reconquista* in Iberia as a potential source of plunder.¹³⁴

Norman pilgrims going to Saint James of Compostella might also have been invited by the local nobility and perhaps the local monarch to join in the Iberian military expeditions into Muslim territories.¹³⁵ However, there is no recorded episode of any Norman pilgrim getting involved in any military venture against the Muslims on behalf of the Christians of Galicia during this period. If episodes like this occurred, which have been lost in the historical record, they might have brought the Norman population into contact with the Iberian struggle. The fact that they were fighting non-Christians might have encouraged in these early pre-crusading participants a notion that they were fighting against the enemies of God.¹³⁶ Certainly even if the Church at this point did not make an official declaration of indulgences for the participants of these expeditions, it is likely that they believed that they had God on their side.¹³⁷ Of course this kind of Holy War can hardly be called a crusade since there was no official recognition for it from the papacy and more importantly,

¹³³ N. Hunt, *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (London, 1971), 194; Bishko, 'Los orígenes de la alianza castellano-leonesa con Cluny', 99-135.

¹³⁴ Iogna-Prat, *Cluny and Christendom*, 323-357; M. González Jiménez, 'Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (Oxford, 1989), 52-55; Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 110.

¹³⁵ D. C. Douglas, *The Norman Fate* (London, 1976), 161.

¹³⁶ France, *The Crusades*, 20-21.

¹³⁷ C. J. Bishko, 'Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain', *Studia Anselmiana*, XL (1956) 163-175; C. J. Bishko, 'Peter the Venerable's traverse of Spain: Some further Observations', in *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History 600-1300* (London, 1984) Article XIII, 1-13.

there is no clear indication that the participants thought that they were gaining any kind of remission of sins as they would have done a century later.

Fletcher suggested that the count who defeated the Vikings rampaging over Galicia in 968 was William Sancho, count of Gascony.¹³⁸ As there is evidence that a number of nobles and notable figures from France had come to St. James as pilgrims, it is possible that Normans might have been involved in military ventures in Galicia in the early decades of the eleventh century, if not against their fellow Viking Sea wolves, then against the Muslims of Spain now that they were Christian.¹³⁹ Certainly, if the expedition was successful these Normans would have been able to gain a substantial amount of plunder to take back to Normandy and for this reason they might have been attracted to join in the Iberian *Reconquista* just as they were also attracted to participate in ventures of the mid-eleventh century, which resulted in the formation of Norman lordships and principalities in the Italian peninsula.¹⁴⁰ Direct evidence of Norman participation in the Iberian peninsula exists in sporadic mentions of pirates raiding the coasts of Galicia in the first half of the eleventh century.¹⁴¹

The accusation by contemporaries that Bishop Diego Peláez of Compostella had invited William I of England to come to Galicia and to take it as his kingdom, certainly suggests that the bishop had indeed some diplomatic contacts with the court of the Norman king.¹⁴² This invitation occurred as a result of a rebellion by the Galician nobility against the rule of

¹³⁸ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 81

¹³⁹ *Crónica de veinte reyes*, ed. C. Hernández Alonso (Burgos, 1991), 115.

¹⁴⁰ Haskins, *The Normans*, 192-195; France, *The Crusades*, 27.

¹⁴¹ Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 45-59.

¹⁴² Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 32.

Alfonso VI of Castile-Leon. Although the existence of such an invitation has not been proven, the insinuation by contemporary sources that the bishop had invited the Norman king clearly indicates that there were contacts between the Norman nobility and Galicia.¹⁴³ Moreover this reference suggests that the Normans may have been visiting the shrine of Saint James, and by doing so they could have contacted the bishop of Compostella.¹⁴⁴ The only reference to Normans in Galicia around this time is from Wace who, writing a century later, claimed that Walter Giffard of Longueville was there. He may have been the first contact between the Galician bishop and William the Conqueror, if there was any, since the evidence in this period is very thin and there is no reference to this episode anywhere else.¹⁴⁵

It is well known that during this period it was common for nobles and kings in the Iberian peninsula to launch raids against the Muslim territories almost every summer season.¹⁴⁶ However, the only records of Norman participants in these raids are Roger of Tosny, Robert Crispin and perhaps Walter Giffard of Longueville. Certainly this is not comparable to those of the Burgundian nobles who also campaigned during this period in the Iberian *Reconquista*.¹⁴⁷ Despite this, it is also likely that there were other less well-

¹⁴³ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 32.

¹⁴⁴ Delaruelle, 'The Crusading idea', 212; Douglas, *The Norman Fate*, 161.

¹⁴⁵ T. A. Archer, 'Giffard of Barbastre', *EHR*, XVIII (1903), 303-305.

¹⁴⁶ S. Burton and R. Fletcher, 'Introduction', in *The World of El Cid* (Manchester, 2000), 4.

¹⁴⁷ The Burgundian nobility seem to have been as attracted to the Iberian *Reconquista* as the Normans, but they seem to have had greater ambitions in Iberia. Perfect examples of this were Henry of Châlons and Raymond of Amous who came to the empire of Leon and married into the royal family of the Iberian kingdom. Their achievements, compared with those of the Norman participants during this period, were certainly much greater and although there are many more references in Spanish sources about their deeds, their motivation for coming to Spain seems to have been not too different from those of the Normans. Due to their marriage to two daughters of Alfonso VI and being fathers to two of the most important Iberian monarchs of the twelfth century, their names were mentioned relatively often in Iberian

known Normans who might have been drafted to join these expeditions while they were on pilgrimage to Saint James. Furthermore, it is no wonder that perhaps the Iberian image of *Santiago Mata Moros* (Saint James the Moors' Slayer) might have helped to encourage these Norman pilgrims to mix their religious devotion with economic gain and their desire for plunder and adventure.¹⁴⁸ For the image of Saint James had been an important symbol of the Iberian *Reconquista* from at least the early eleventh century. Although the popular myth of Saint James 'the Moors' Slayer' was probably not conceived by the Church, it certainly shows the quasi-religious feeling that the *Reconquista* was starting to have at least in the popular imagination of the Christian side in Iberia in the early eleventh century.

Together with the acquisition of wealth the Normans, like Roger of Tosny and later Robert Crispin, might have felt a religious duty or advantage, in travelling to Spain with some sense of Christian identification with the Iberian Christians because, unlike their Viking ancestors, they fought against the Muslims only. This of course, could have been partially influenced by the growing concept of Holy War which was apparently forming in Italy with the involvement of Normans there and the papal response to their arrival in relation to their wars against the Muslims.¹⁴⁹ Erdmann argued that the popes gave religious approval to their own military faction in the early eleventh century, which at times included Norman adventurers, in the wars against the

chronicles. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 56; J. F. Rivera Recio, *La Iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086-1208)*, I (Rome, 1966), 51-53.

¹⁴⁸ Torres Sevilla Quiñones de León, *Las batallas legendarias*, 91-92.

¹⁴⁹ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 5; Douglas, *The Norman Fate*, 157.

Byzantines and the Muslims alike in the Italian peninsula.¹⁵⁰ However, at this point there was no reference to the worthiness of the cause as a way to redeem oneself from sin, as was the case a century later. The idea that the war against the heathen was a worthy cause had existed in Christianity, with some ambiguity since the time of Saint Augustine.¹⁵¹ However, by the early eleventh century there had been a movement towards the formation of the idea that war against the enemies of the church was not sinful in itself, although those involved in it were still supposed to do penance for their acts of violence.¹⁵² These developments, which were observed equally in France as in Italy, could have influenced the Norman nobility together with other reasons for the worthiness of the Iberian cause.

It is difficult to draw many conclusions from the fact that the Normans fought on the Christian side, but it does seem to suggest that although the main motive behind the early Norman participation in the Iberian reconquest would have been the acquisition of wealth, or perhaps some political advantage of being absent from home for some time, they did feel some identification with the Christian struggle against what they saw as the infidels. It is also important to note that the religious aura of the *Reconquista* had not been given by the papacy in the early eleventh century and to most Iberian monarchs their idea of the *Reconquista* had more to do with the acquisition of land and wealth than with religious fervour.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 109-110.

¹⁵¹ Ibidem.

¹⁵² Mayer, *The Crusades*, 15-16; D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Italy* (Cambridge, 1992), 14-19.

¹⁵³ Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 87-89.

Moreover, again when the Iberian chroniclers tried to justify the *Reconquista* they related it to a Visigothic restoration.¹⁵⁴ It is therefore possible to conclude that unlike peoples from other parts of what is today modern France (Gascons, Occitans, Burgundians, Bretons and Provençals), who might have been influenced by the Cluniacs, and perhaps their early encouragements for fighting in Spain as Boissonade claimed, the Normans were not directly influenced by Cluny during the first three quarters of the eleventh century to travel to Spain to join any military expedition with some kind of clerical approval.¹⁵⁵ Of course, papal support for the conquest of Barbastro in 1064, which will be discussed in more detail later, might have represented the beginning of some kind of spiritual motivation of the Normans. However, in this case the famous letter of indulgences of Pope Alexander II was not addressed to the Normans but to the southern French.

Although it can be shown that the Normans' religious motivation might not have been very great, there was another factor that might have helped to create a sense of solidarity towards the Christians of the peninsula in their struggle against their Muslim neighbours.¹⁵⁶ These were the knightly stories of Charlemagne and Roland's adventures in Spain. As the Normans settled in northern France, they adopted the Frankish language and its literature and myths.¹⁵⁷ During this period it is likely that story tellers or early minstrels, who

¹⁵⁴ Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 87-89.

¹⁵⁵ Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 224-225.

¹⁵⁶ J. Lindsay, *The Troubadours and their World* (London, 1976), 1-2.

¹⁵⁷ Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 284-285; L. Musset, 'L'image de la Scandinavie dans les œuvres normandes de la période ducale (911-1204)', in *Les relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au moyen âge* (Paris, 1972), 193-213; E. Van Houts, 'Scandinavian influence in Norman Literature in the eleventh century', *ANS*, VI (1983), 107-121.

might have come from southern France, portrayed the epic stories of Charlemagne's war with the Moors in Spain.¹⁵⁸ Perhaps these stories were attractive to the Normans because in many ways they were similar to stories of warriors in the Viking sagas. Certainly, the Moors replaced the monsters and dragons of these Scandinavian stories, and, perhaps, made them more appealing as they not only mention the glory achieved by their heroes' battles against the infidels, but they also noticed the great booty taken as a result.

The *Song of Roland* has usually been dated by most recent historians as not earlier than the end of the eleventh century. However, it is accepted that oral forms of it existed before. It is therefore likely that these oral variations of the tale of Roland were circulated around the noble courts in northern France as well as in Normandy by jongleurs.¹⁵⁹ These stories might have caught the imagination of the Normans. It seems that William the Conqueror's minstrel sang the tale of Roland's heroic fight with the Moors at Roncevalles to encourage the Normans for the approaching battle at Hastings in October 1066.¹⁶⁰ Certainly, such stories would have brought some idealised view of the wars in Spain and might have helped to create a sense of Christian solidarity with the Iberian Christians, which might explain the early involvement of Normans (from Normandy) in the *Reconquista* at the beginning of the second millennium. However, evidence for the existence of an oral

¹⁵⁸ For the southern regions of France the *Reconquista* had been a part of their culture since the arrival of the Moors in Spain in 711, as they had been attacked by them and had participated in many campaigns of reconquest before the Normans' arrivals. So for the southern French, the stories of valiant knights fighting the Moors in Spain were part of the folkloric history. D. Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister* (Woodbridge, 1999), 34-35.

¹⁵⁹ W. Van Emden, *La Chanson de Roland* (Valencia, 1995), 10-12; M. Zink, *Le moyen âge littérature française* (Nancy, 1990), 41-43; Musset, 'L'image de la scandinave dans les œuvres normandes', 193-213; M. Gabriele, 'Asleep at the Wheel? Messianism, Apocalypticism and Charlemagne's Passivity in the Oxford Chanson de Roland', *NMS*, XLVII (2003), 46-72.

¹⁶⁰ Wace, *Le roman de Rou*, II (Paris, 1971), 183; Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 60.

representation of stories like the song of Roland in the early eleventh century is problematic. Certainly, the stories of the Franks' deeds in Spain were not motive enough to encourage the Normans to travel across France to reach the battlefields of the peninsula, but they might have helped to inspire them together along with more materialistic aims.

The formation of religious approval for the Iberian reconquest is an important factor that has to be studied in more detail, alongside how the Cluniac influence in Spain might have helped to expand and develop the early theological arguments for the *Reconquista*. The Iberian reconquest was originally a war of political advantage for various secular purposes, ranging from economic advantage for the growing nobility in the Asturian principality to the need of Christian peasants for more land, as mentioned previously in the introduction.¹⁶¹

The legal justification for the reconquest was interpreted as a Visigothic restoration of Spain. Clearly the Iberian monarchs in Asturias as well as to a certain degree, those in the Catalan counties and Navarre, saw themselves as heirs of the Visigothic kingdom of *Hispania*. As such they had a desire and self-proclaimed obligation to restore the independence of this Christian kingdom from the hands of their Muslim invaders.¹⁶² Therefore, the war of reconquest was seen especially by the chroniclers and probably by the

¹⁶¹ Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 84.

¹⁶² Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 82-83, 95-127; Ladero Quesada, 'Introducción', 14-15; Valdéron, Salrach and Zabalo eds., *Feudalismo y consolidación de los pueblos hispánicos*, 11-12; Maravall, *El concepto de España*, 263-277; K. B. Wolf, 'Christian Resistance in the North (ca. 718)', in *Medieval Iberia*, ed. O. R. Constable (Philadelphia, 1997), 39-42.

secular leaders as a war of liberation and recuperation of land, which in their own interpretation of events had been lost to the Moors after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom.¹⁶³ The Iberian Christians saw this war as a legitimate course of action, because Spain in its own interpretation of history had once belonged to the Visigoths who were Christians, and the Christian principalities of the north as their heirs were the legitimate possessors of Spain.¹⁶⁴ This view continued to be seen by chroniclers for centuries after the original Muslim conquest and was in a way increased every time there were persecutions of Christians within the Moorish-controlled areas. To the Iberian monarchs the idea of the *Reconquista* was therefore a 'Just War' of recuperation of Christian lands lost to the Muslim invaders.¹⁶⁵ However, it did not contain the religious seal of approval of the papacy to be considered a 'Holy War' of the same status as the later crusades, as will be shown later in this chapter. The war was seen as a patriotic duty, which sometimes had religious approval from the members of the clergy in Spain.¹⁶⁶ Despite this, the vision was of a Visigothic restoration of Spain and did not possess a clear religious segregation of Islamic inhabitants of southern Spain, as would develop later with the rise of the crusading ideal. The *Reconquista* therefore had a tacit religious approval that was more to do with the duty of the Iberians to restore Christian domination over the old kingdom than any particular religious responsibility to vanquish the infidels from the peninsula.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Maravall, *El concepto de España*, 263-267.

¹⁶⁴ Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 85.

¹⁶⁵ Maravall, *El concepto de España*, 271-273.

¹⁶⁶ Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 85-86.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem.

Traditional Spanish historians like Menéndez Pidal saw the period of Iberian reconquest before the eleventh century as a period known as *la Convivencia*, in which, according to his views, Muslim, Jews and Christian Iberians lived side by side with a great degree of tolerance of religion. The military action that took place during this period had political and legal origins, as discussed above. Menéndez Pidal's argument has been reviewed by historians like Lomax and Cantarino, who have argued that religious approval for this war had started to take shape in Iberian ideas of reconquest long before the end of the eleventh century.¹⁶⁸ However, Menéndez Pidal's argument can be understood from a perspective of comparison between the military practices followed by the Christians and Muslims alike in the peninsula, before and after the eleventh century watershed with perhaps other parts of Europe and the Latin States.¹⁶⁹ It is evident that unlike the Franks and Normans, the Iberian Christians and their Muslim enemies more often exercised a more humane treatment of each other when one of their cities fell to the other side after a military confrontation. According to Menéndez Pidal this seems to have changed gradually during the eleventh century as the religious status began to increase.¹⁷⁰ Even with the growth of religious fanaticism through crusading theology, Spanish religious toleration towards Jews and Muslims throughout the Middle Ages was relatively high compared to other areas of western Europe, if only because of local realities.¹⁷¹ Toleration on the Christian side was more to do with the lack of practicality of

¹⁶⁸ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 40-41; Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 88

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 85.

¹⁷⁰ D. Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III* (Rome, 1955), doc. 13; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, 577-579.

¹⁷¹ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 109.

having continuously antagonistic stand towards the others. This was of course the case in other parts of Europe but it was more important in areas **where** the frontier with the non-Christians was near. But the borderline between toleration and antagonism on the Iberian frontier societies was always very **blurred** since the proximity to 'the other' also allowed these groups to be the first victims of any incursion by the other side. Therefore, it is arguable that the shifts of policies towards the dominated religious communities were prone to have radical changes. Also the gradual influence of Cluny and an increase in pressure from the papacy on the Christian side and the invasions of Almoravids and Almohads on the Muslim side, brought a gradual augmentation of intolerance on both sides.¹⁷²

The papal policy in Iberia

Although Alexander II had apparently been involved in the formation of the expedition against Barbastro in 1064, it was Gregory VII who became the first pope to evolve an active strategy of involvement in Spain.¹⁷³ He started this policy in the 1070s with his proclamation that Muslim-dominated Spain belonged to the patrimony of Saint Peter, since the Christians of the Peninsula had lost it to the infidels and he, as the supreme Christian authority, had the right to reallocate it as he chose, once it had been restored to Christian hands.¹⁷⁴ This claim in many ways had no backing from the native rulers of the peninsula, but proved to be useful for certain rulers later on as they wrestled for control and the conquest of Andalusia and struggled to become independent of each other. Gregory's attempts to bring the Iberian monarchs

¹⁷² Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 154-179, 197-200.

¹⁷³ France, *The Crusades*, 36.

¹⁷⁴ Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 221; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 173.

under his over-lordship were not successful in the more powerful kingdoms, but it certainly helped to create strong interest from the papacy in Iberia. Although the significance of this claim was not great in the eleventh century, it certainly showed the growing interest of the papacy in the war of reconquest in Spain.¹⁷⁵ Gregory VII was also involved in trying to raise an expedition against the Moors in Spain led by Ebolus of Roucy.¹⁷⁶ This expedition, which if it had occurred could have been considered a first crusade, certainly showed the rising interest of the papacy in launching military ventures against the infidels in Spain.¹⁷⁷ When the First Crusade was finally proclaimed in 1095 it made the *Reconquista* another theatre of the great crusade against Islam launched by the papacy. Even Urban II before he enrolled the Frankish nobility in the great expedition of the First Crusade, was eager to encourage the Catalan nobility to restore the archbishopric of Tarragona. Even after the crusade was launched to the east, he became anxious about the possibility that the Iberian nobility would join the eastern expedition and weaken the western front of Christendom.¹⁷⁸ In the twelfth century the Normans came to the Iberian peninsula to fight against the Muslims as part of the crusader movement, and popes like Calixtus II were happy to equate the *Reconquista* in importance to those crusades launched into the Holy Land.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ H. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085* (Oxford, 1998), 468.

¹⁷⁶ Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, 221. Ebolus had also come into a marriage alliance with the Aragonese monarch Sancho Ramirez; the monarch had married Felicia the sister of Ebolus. Felicia was the mother of the future crusading king of Aragon, Alfonso I the Battler. Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el batallador*, 15-17.

¹⁷⁷ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 6; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, 469; B. J. Wheeler, 'The Reconquest of Spain Before, 1095', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. M. W. Baldwin (Winsconsin, 1969), 38-39.

¹⁷⁸ Pope Urban II, 'Letter to the Counts of Besalú, Empurias, Rousillon and Cerdeña', in *The First Crusade*, ed. E. Peters (Pennsylvania, 1998), 45-46; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades idea and Reality*, 40.

¹⁷⁹ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 62; S. Lloyd, 'The Crusading Movement', *The Oxford History of the Crusades* ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1999), 39; I.S. Robinson, 'The

Roger of Tosny

Although the popularity of the Apostle James' shrine at Compostella in Galicia was increasing, the early eleventh century Norman adventurers in the Iberian peninsula were more interested in the eastern rather than the western part. Roger of Tosny was the first Norman adventurer to have visited Spain for military purposes to be mentioned in the chronicles.¹⁸⁰ His career in Iberia, however is relatively shadowy, since there are only two main sources which mention his involvement in the Iberian struggle. These are the *History of Aquitaine* of Adémar of Chabannes and the *Chronicle of Saint Pierre le Vif de Sens*. It is important to note that neither source was Iberian and that there are no known references to his participation in any Iberian narrative or documentary source. Apart from this, as will be explored in more detail, both narratives present problems when we try to correlate them with local known narratives of the period in Catalonia.

The sources and their problems

As Boissonade has noted, Adémar was contemporary with the events and was well informed on the history of the duchy of Aquitaine and is a relatively reliable source for the events of Roger's campaign in Iberia. Although Adémar was an influential monk of Saint Cybard of Angoulême he was also a great forger of documents. Despite this, he also seems to have been a meticulous chronicler caring to check dates and to compare different

papacy 1122-1198', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, ii, eds. D. Luscombe and J. Riley Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 340-341.

¹⁸⁰ P. Boissonade, 'Les premières croisades françaises en Espagne', *BH*, XXXVI (1970), 5-7.

sources.¹⁸¹ According to Landes, Adémar focused sharply on chronology and was able to fill in the blanks in the *Chronicon* of Aquitaine, which existed in his monastery. Unlike his contemporaries he used charters in order to create a chronology of events and looked at different sources to prove his theories. Although he was very interested in writing about the past, he was also brave enough to write about the present. He was even bold enough to write from his own initiative unlike most monk historians of his age, such as Rodulfus Glaber in Cluny, who wrote under the supervision of their abbots.¹⁸² However for all Adémar's attributes in using the written sources and comparing them he also used oral sources for his chronicle, which has produced certain doubts as to the veracity of his claims, since he did not mention the source in many of his citations.¹⁸³ Although he seems to have been very methodical in his works he also seems to have produced a few erroneous assertions which often distort his accounts accuracy.¹⁸⁴ Adémar as a source has thus to be treated with caution but as some of his claims seem to be confirmed by the chronicle of Saint Pierre one must not over criticised his work. At least it seems that for Roger's adventures in Catalonia Adémar is a relatively reliable source since they did not possess any direct relation to his disputes with the clergy of Limoges. Despite this he has a tendency to exaggerate, which is not totally unlike other contemporary chroniclers

¹⁸¹ R. Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and Deceits of History: Adémar of Chabannes* (Cambridge MA, 1995), 124.

¹⁸² Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and Deceits of History*, 127.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁸⁴ J. Gillingham, 'Adémar of Chabannes and the History of Aquitaine in the Reign of Charles the Bald', in *Charles the Bald*, eds. M. Gibson and J. L. Nelson (Aldershot, 1990), 49-51.

Adémar tells us that:

The Normans, however, under their leader Roger had set out to kill pagans in Spain and wiped out vast number of Saracens and took their cities and fortifications away from them. When he first arrived, Roger captured the Saracens, cut one of them in two halves each day and with the rest of them as onlookers boiled one half in boiling water just like pork and gave it to them to eat, the other half he pretended to eat at home with his men. Having thus dealt with all of them in this way, he permitted the most recent captives to escape from his custody, making it look like negligence, so that he would reveal his monstrous behaviour to the Saracens. This news struck them with fear and the Saracens from neighbouring Spain along with their King Musetus sought peace with Ermessenda, countess of Barcelona and promised to pay an annual tribute, for Ermessenda was a widow, who had joined her daughter in marriage to Roger. When peace was established among them Roger resolved to make war upon a further area of Spain and one day with only forty Christians he ran into an ambush of five hundred chosen Saracens lying in wait for him. Engaging with them he lost his brother-in-law, went into battle three times and killed more than one hundred of the enemy and returned with his men. Nor did the Saracens dare to follow him as he fled.¹⁸⁵

Apart from Adémar's *Chronicon*, *Chronicle of Saint Pierre le Vif de Sens*, the *Chronicle of Saint Pierre le Vif de Sens*, contains a section on Roger's adventures in Spain, complementing Adémar's narrative. However, this chronicle also raises some questions regarding Roger's career, which will

¹⁸⁵ Adémari Chabannensis, *Chronicon*, ed. P. Bourgain (Turnhout, 1999), 174; English translation in: Adémar of Chabannes, 'Chronicle (on Roger of Tosny)', in *The Normans in European History*, ed. E. Van Houts (Manchester, 2000), 270.

be addressed in this section.¹⁸⁶ This chronicle which was written much later at the end of the eleventh century, apart from the temporal distance with the events narrated, shows that its geographical distance from the events it relates in Iberia might have been an important factor in some of its inaccuracies with regards to local Catalan history.

The *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens* says:

At this time, Roger, son of the count Raoul, came from Normandy and gained Spain with his army, devastating the country and occupying cities and castles. He took for a wife the sister of Ramon Berenguer, Estefania, who married after him the King Garcia of Spain [Garcia Sanchez III of Navarre]. He seized the cities of Tarragona and Girona and remained there with his wife and his army for fifteen years. After this, the inhabitants of this country prepared an ambush for him and wanted to kill him at the church of Saint Félix, this happened at the same time as Richard was duke of Normandy. But Roger, knowing that the ambush was prepared, gave up twenty men, his wife and all that he had, because by then almost all his army had already been killed, and returned to his father in Normandy, making peace with Duke Richard. Richard, indeed, regretted the loss of the army he (Roger) had led into Spain where almost all the soldiers had perished.¹⁸⁷

Although there is no references to this Norman in Iberian sources, there are another two northern French chronicles from the twelfth century that shed some light on this affair. Orderic Vitalis and William of Jumièges although distant temporally from the events, seem to be closer to Roger and his family

¹⁸⁶ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, ed. R. H. Bautier and M. Gilles (Paris, 1979), 112.

¹⁸⁷ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 112.

perhaps because of their Norman connection.¹⁸⁸ It was Orderic who identified the Roger mentioned in the two main sources as 'of Tosny', or 'the Spaniard'. On the other hand, Adémar and the author of *Chronique de Saint Pierre le Vif*, unlike Orderic Vitalis and William of Jumièges, were not uncritical of the Norman's deeds, since they were writing for different audiences and it is unlikely that they had increased the importance of a Norman pirate or mercenary to increase the prestige of the Norman nobility in general. An important factor which will be discussed in more detail is that all these sources do not give a clear and consistent time frame for the events they narrate, and dates are usually approximations deduced by modern editors.

Roger's Manzer

An example of the problems encountered in Roger's case is the problem of interpretation of the texts. Adémar says at the end of his account of Roger's adventure in Spain: *cum quibus confligens fratrem suum manzerem amisit*.¹⁸⁹ Van Houts has translated this part of Adémar's chronicle as: 'Engaging with them (the Saracens) he (Roger) lost his brother-in-law'.¹⁹⁰ However, it seems more likely that in this context the word *manzer* might mean illegitimate brother rather than brother-in-law. Berenguer Ramon had a brother called Borrell Ramon who died before 1017.¹⁹¹ Also neither Berenguer Ramon I nor his brother died in battle and it would seem unlikely that Adémar would not have mentioned the name of his brother-in-law if this was the count himself or his brother. It seems therefore, more likely that the word *manzer*,

¹⁸⁸ *RHLE*, 334.

¹⁸⁹ Adémar Chabanensis, *Chronicon*, 174.

¹⁹⁰ Adémar of Chabannes, 'Chronicle (on Roger of Tosny)', 270.

¹⁹¹ M. Aurell i Cardona, 'Les avatars de la viduité princière: Ermessende comtesse de Barcelone', in *Veuves et veuvage des le haut Moyen Age*, ed. M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), 204.

which in most dictionaries is defined as 'illegitimate',¹⁹² was referring to an illegitimate brother of Roger who went to Spain with him, perhaps hoping to get land or wealth from the expedition, but because of his premature death in this ambush did not get any long lasting possessions in the county of Barcelona that would have been recorded.¹⁹³ In this sense Roger's illegitimate brother seems to fit better with the later Norman players in the Iberian *Reconquista*, who like Robert Crispin were members of noble families but did not have a substantial inheritance because of their family position or their illegitimacy.

Roger's arrival in Spain

Roger, apparently arrived in Spain in 1023, with an army of Normans to fight the heathens. Since Adémar finished his chronicle in around 1034 he was relatively close to the events he narrated. This date of 1023 is, however, an approximation established from the context by Bourgain in his edition of the chronicle. However, the date is significant for the history of the county of Barcelona because it was then that Berenguer Ramon I came of age and took over the affairs of the county from his mother Ermessenda.¹⁹⁴ Adémar's omission of Berenguer Ramon I can be explained perhaps because it was only in this year that the young count assumed the power in the county and the very influential Ermessenda was probably still the most powerful figure during the events narrated by Adémar. The *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* seems however, more inclined to mention the count. Yet, this French chronicle

¹⁹² 'Manzer, eris, *adj. com.* [Hebrew word] *illegitimate: bastard* · Sedul. 5,256'. W. Smith, *Latin-English Dictionary*, 7th edition (London, 1881), 667.

¹⁹³ France, *The Crusades*, 11-12, 27.

¹⁹⁴ F. Udina Martorell, 'Los Condes Catalanes: Prosopografía', in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal: La Reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política 1035-1217*, IX, ed M. A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1998), 341-342.

does not mention Ermessenda, which is puzzling. It is likely that the chronicler of *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* attributed the role allegedly played by Ermessenda to either her son or her grandson.¹⁹⁵ This omission can be attributed perhaps to the relatively shadowy position that women possessed during this period in relation to politics or to the misinformation of the French chronicler on this period of Barcelonese history.

Roger's conquests in Iberia

According to Dozy's interpretation of Adémar's account, Roger's expedition into Catalonia was divided into two phases: the first phase was probably a raid targeted at capturing prisoners and booty, from which Adémar selected a vivid description of the brutality of the Normans with respect to their Muslim prisoners (see above). The Moorish king, whom Dozy identified as the king of Saragossa, sought to make peace with the countess of Barcelona according to Adémar, after the brutal treatment of his prisoners.¹⁹⁶ Both chronicles mention that Roger captured many cities and castles from the Moors in this first attack. However, it seems more likely that the Moorish ruler who made peace with the Barcelonese would have been the ruler of Lleida, who during this period seems to have been more involved with the Catalan counties than Saragossa. However Dozy's claims that Saragossa was the target of Roger's first phase of his expedition cannot be totally dismissed. For Saragossa was a bigger city and it had played an important role in the *Reconquista* since the times of Charlemagne. It may be for this reason that Dozy decided that Saragossa and not Lleida was the target of Roger's attacks.

¹⁹⁵ J. Reglà, 'De la soberanía carolingia a la independencia', in *Història de Catalunya*, I (Barcelona, 1969), 197.

¹⁹⁶ Adémar Chabannensis, *Chronicon*, 173-174; *RHLE*, 333.

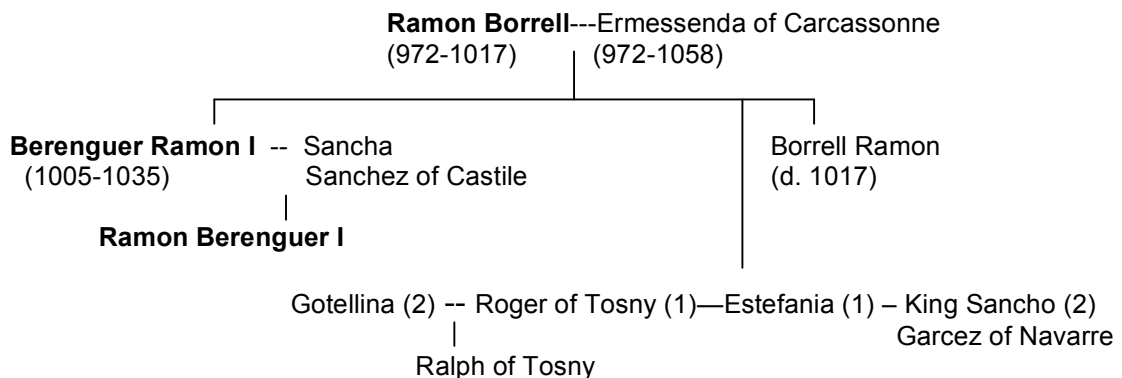
The author of *Chronique de Saint Pierre le Vif* claims that Roger conquered Gerona and Tarragona. This claim is strange, as Tarragona was not conquered until the reign of Ramon Berenguer III.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, it was not repopulated until Archbishop Oleguer of Tarragona installed Robert Burdet as prince in Tarragona in 1128 (see next chapter). Although it was not conquered until the late eleventh century, Roger might have taken part in a raid on the area surrounding the city, since from a very early stage in the Iberian *Reconquista* the counts of Barcelona had tried unsuccessfully to conquer this area. On the other hand, Gerona had already been in Christian hands for two hundred years. However, it might have been the case that Roger raided the surroundings of Tarragona but perhaps lived in Gerona, although if he had conquered Gerona, the Catalan chronicles would most certainly have mentioned it since this was Catalonia's second Christian city after Barcelona. The chronicler, perhaps impressed by Roger's exploits in Spain, tried to attribute deeds to this Norman noble, which were known to have been done by Charlemagne in Spain. And for this reason he might have included names of bigger cities, which Roger might have conquered during his exploits in Spain. It is also likely that, as Orderic Vitalis describes later on, he might have confused names of smaller villages raided by Roger with that of the more well-known cities of Spain.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 112.

¹⁹⁸ Orderic confused Tudela with Toledo. OV, VI, 398.

Roger's marriage alliance

Roger's achievement, in Adémar's account, in placing the Moors under the suzerainty of the county of Barcelona might have convinced Ermessenda, that the Norman was a useful ally against the Muslims and that marriage was the proper way to cement the alliance. This might have been seen as a solution to the rising power of the Catalan nobility, which during the first decades of the eleventh century were eroding the power of the counts. This had sunk the county into the chaos of private wars, thanks in part to the inability of her regency to continue the expansion into the Muslim controlled territories, a problem that according to the Catalan sources did not stop until the rise in to power of Ramon Berenguer I in 1135.¹⁹⁹ This alliance, which is not mentioned by contemporary sources in Catalonia, would have certainly been an important milestone in the relations between Normandy and Catalonia.



Although the *Chronicle of Saint Pierre le Vif* did not mention who arranged Estefania's marriage with Roger, by naming the count the reader is led to believe that it had been the count who made the deal.²⁰⁰ The

¹⁹⁹ T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford, 1991), 24.

²⁰⁰ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 112.

Chronique's reference to Ramon Berenguer may indicate that the author of the *Chronique* as a later chronicler in northern France was more interested in Estefania's relationship with the Barcelonese comital house. Not being an expert on Catalan history, he might have confused the names of the counts replacing Berenguer Ramon I with the more famous Ramon Berenguer I (the Elder). In this way he might have been making the narrative more easily understood by his contemporary readers in northern France. Although Adémar did not identify the name of the daughter of Ermessenda, who was supposedly joined in matrimony with Roger, the author of the *Chronique de Saint Pierre le Vif* identified her as Estefania, sister of Ramon Berenguer, who later married Garcia, king of *Hispania*.²⁰¹ However, there is also the possibility that Adémar was wrong and Estefania was indeed the sister of Ramon Berenguer (the Elder) and therefore, granddaughter of Ermessenda (this would mean that she would have been a little girl when she was joined in matrimony with Roger). This hypothesis is however, less likely since Berenguer Ramon I was born around 1006. It seems more likely therefore that Estefania was indeed the daughter of Ermessenda and sister of Berenguer Ramon I.

As mentioned in the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, Estefania was later married to King Garcia of *Hispania*. This must have been Garcia Sanchez of Navarre who in 1038 married a Estefania of the comital house of Barcelona, according to contemporary sources.²⁰² Certainly the author of the chronicle was well-informed about the House of Barcelona and its marriage

²⁰¹ Adémari Chabannensis, *Chronicon*, 173-174.

²⁰² *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 112; A. J. Martín Duque, 'Declive del reino de Pamplona y crecimiento del Aragón', in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal: La reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política (1035-1217)*, IX, M. A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1998), 253-254.

alliances with the other Iberian monarchies. However it certainly was not too clear about Garcia's rank, calling him the king of Spain, a title which was rarely used during this period especially by kings of Navarre. Nor is it clear whether Ralph of Tosny the son of Roger of Tosny, mentioned by both Orderic Vitalis and William of Jumièges, was the son of Estefania and Roger, or if he was the offspring of Gotellina (wife of Roger of Tosny according to William of Jumièges).²⁰³ However from his later career in England and in Normandy one might assume that even if he had Iberian ancestry through his mother's side, he was not interested in going to Spain.

Musset believes that the whole story of the marriage is not unlikely because Roger's wife Gotellina might have been of Catalan origin. However, he points out that it is rather strange that Norman chroniclers like Orderic Vitalis did not mention the existence of such a marriage alliance.²⁰⁴ Of course this does not preclude the fact that Roger actually left Estefania behind when he went back to Normandy and married again after getting an annulment. Or perhaps the marriage never occurred and Adémar just heard that Roger had declared that he was going to marry this princess but the event never actually took place and Adémar just assumed that it had.

²⁰³ William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normanorum Ducum*, II, ed. E. van Houts (Oxford, 1995), 272; OV, II, 175.

²⁰⁴ Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante', 53.

Length of Roger's career in Iberia

William of Jumièges says Roger went on his expedition in 1035 at the same time as his overlord Robert II went to the Holy Land.²⁰⁵ This seems to contradict the idea that Roger stayed in Spain for fifteen years, which is asserted by the author of the *Chronique de Saint Pierre le Vif*, who suggests that Roger went back to Normandy before 1035 and returned to Spain in the year his Norman overlord went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. However, this could be a mistake by William who wrote almost one hundred years after the events and it could imply that he returned to Normandy in the same year Duke Robert II went on his pilgrimage. According to the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, Roger lived in Spain for fifteen years with his wife and with his Norman army.²⁰⁶ This clearly suggests his interest in staying in Catalonia to make his fortune. This claim in the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* seems to fit relatively well with Orderic Vitalis' account of Roger's career in Spain. However, because of his high status in Normandy the idea that an important Norman count would have been away for a long time from his dominions seems strange. There are, however, some clues in these chronicles that might help to piece together the reasoning behind his arrival in Spain. According to the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, after his return to Normandy Roger made peace with Duke Richard. This suggests that he had perhaps been exiled or was at odds with the duke for some time and that his travelling to Spain might have served as a way of staying away from Normandy.²⁰⁷ However, chroniclers like Orderic Vitalis do not mention any dispute between the duke

²⁰⁵ William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, II, 94-95.

²⁰⁶ Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 131; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 112.

²⁰⁷ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 113.

and the count before Roger left for Spain, though from his later rebellion against Duke William it is not impossible that he might have been at odds with either Richard II (996-1026) or his sons Richard III (1026-1028) or Robert II (1028-1036).²⁰⁸

Catalonia as a destination

The reason for Roger's choice of Spain or indeed Catalonia as his area of action during his exile is much harder to identify for the chronicles do not say much about this decision. He might have decided to go on pilgrimage to Spain and in doing so might have been attracted by the Iberian struggle against the Moors. However apart from this, it is difficult to assess with any precision the reasoning behind Roger's choice of Catalonia over other areas of Europe for, as we have seen, there are only a few sources for his involvement.²⁰⁹

Roger's return to Normandy

Both Adémar and the author of *Chronique de Saint Pierre le Vif* mentioned that an ambush sprung by the inhabitants of Spain on Roger forced him to leave.²¹⁰ Because of the differences between the narratives, it is hard to say whether the authors were referring to the same event. In both cases, Roger ends up fleeing, which suggests that it is the same episode viewed from different perspectives by the two authors. Although both chroniclers mentioned different numbers of soldiers (twenty and forty, respectively) who participated

²⁰⁸ Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante', 52.

²⁰⁹ Defourneaux, *Les français en Espagne*, 130-131.

²¹⁰ Adémar of Chabannes, 'Chronicle (on Roger of Tosny)', 270; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 113.

on Roger's side during the ambush by the Saracens, in both cases he seems to have escaped. For Adémar the Norman fought bravely against the Saracens, while the author of the *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* said that Roger escaped the ambush.²¹¹ The author of the *Chronique* does not specify whether the Christians or the Muslims perpetrated the attack. In either case Roger, after the event, went back home leaving all his possessions behind including his wife. This suggests that it was perhaps the Catalans nobles who plotted to attack him at the church of Saint Felix and not the Saracens. It is possible that as an outsider, Roger might have been disliked by the other nobles in the county. He was also perhaps perceived as problematic for the local Christian nobility who sought him as a powerful ally against the Moors in time of war, but extremely difficult to deal with, in times of truce. This can be deduced from Adémar's claims that after signing the truce with the Muslims, Roger soon launched another attack against them.²¹² This kind of negative attitude towards foreign help in the *Reconquista* was far from uncommon, as the Christians of the peninsula did not always appreciate the eagerness of their northern allies to attack the Moors, especially during the eleventh century when the *Reconquista* had not been influenced by the crusading idea and had more of a political and economic aims.²¹³

Orderic Vitalis's claims that in 1035, Roger founded an abbey at Conches. This implies that he returned from Spain with some considerable

²¹¹ *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 113.

²¹² Adémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, 174; *RHLE*, 333.

²¹³ Cantarino, 'A Cluniac Holy War Against Islam?' 88-89; M. Gonzalez Jimenez, 'Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. McKay (Oxford, 1989), 52-64.

wealth that he used to establish the monastery as penance for his sins.²¹⁴ The author of the *Chronique de Saint Pierre le Vif* claims that Roger returned to Normandy and died in a battle with a neighbour. This seems to be confirmed by Orderic, who claims that after duke Robert 'the Devil' died in Nicea on his return from Jerusalem (1035), Roger did not want to recognize Robert's bastard son William (later the Conqueror) as his successor, and that a little time afterwards Roger of Tosny was killed by Roger de Beaumont in battle.²¹⁵ William of Jumièges confirms Orderic's claim.²¹⁶

Certainly, the importance of a Norman lord of his standing should have been noticed by some Iberian sources of the period, and their silence is puzzling. It is possible that the Roger who was involved in raids against the Muslims in Catalonia between 1023 and 1035 was not Roger of Tosny as Orderic and William claimed, but some other less important Norman who the Catalan sources did not bother to mention. However, this is unlikely since there are sufficient sources from different parts of *Francia* mentioning him in detail. There is of course, the possibility that Catalan sources referring to him are lost, since Adémar claims that the countess did marry one of her daughters who appears to be Estefania to the Norman (or at least tried to do so). Certainly, this suggests that Roger was of some importance and was not merely a mercenary. Yet, if Dozy's hypothesis of his importance and prestige among the Norman nobility in Normandy is right, Roger's deeds in Spain were probably widely known among the nobility of the duchy.²¹⁷ However, his

²¹⁴ OV, II, 10-11; *RHLE*, 335; Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante', 52.

²¹⁵ *RHLE*, 335.

²¹⁶ William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, II, 86-87.

²¹⁷ *RHLE*, 332-333; William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, II, 86-87.

immediate impact on the Norman participation in the Iberian peninsula must not be overestimated, since until the conquest of Barbastro in 1064, there is no record of any further Norman expedition into Catalonia or any other region of medieval *Hispania*.

The Normans and the Conquest of Barbastro

The first full-scale expedition of Normans in the Iberian *Reconquista* of which evidence survives was launched in 1064/5 against the border town of Barbastro in the Taifa kingdom of Saragossa. This expedition, which has been of great interest to many historians for its similarities with the first crusade to Palestine, brought some important figures of the Norman nobility together with nobles from other areas of France with the relatively clear aim of acquiring wealth from the rich cities of Moorish Spain. It has been suggested by some Spanish and French historians that the conquest of Barbastro is the first crusade because of the controversial letter sent by Alexander II to the leaders of this expedition. The significance, authenticity and true meaning of this letter have been explored by many historians (in Britain, France, Spain, Germany and the United States), but they have not come to agreement over this.²¹⁸ The question of whether this expedition possessed the attributes of what modern historians like to call a crusade is a difficult one to answer, as is shown in the variety of views of historians in the last 150 years. The conundrum is

²¹⁸ Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 118-140; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 257-301; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, 147-151; Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro', *JMH*, IX, 129-144; Al-Bakri, 'Dos Fragmentos sobre Barbastro en el «Bayan Al-Mugrib», de Ibn c Idari y en el «Rawd Al-Mi c Tar» fel Himyari', ed. J. Bosch Vilá, in *EEMCA*, III (Saragossa, 1948), 242-261; *RHLE*, II, 335-345; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 72-80; Defourneaux, *Les français in Espagne*, 133-138.

ultimately based on the idea of what a crusade is or is not and whether we as historians can really define the concept of a crusade. This section, reflecting on the historiographical discussion addressed on chapter I, will tackle this debate in some detail, as the reconquest does have an important relationship to the crusades. It is important to review, for example, the original motives of the participants and, in the case of this thesis, Norman reasons for joining in the Spanish campaign of Barbastro. The religious motivation will also be addressed, which is indeed the main area of contention in the literature on the nature of the expedition.

According to Catalan sources, the Bishop of Vic seems to have been planning the expedition to Barbastro in 1063.²¹⁹ The bishops of Catalonia had proclaimed a 'Peace of God' that encouraged Catalan nobles to participate in the expedition and exhorted them to keep peace among themselves if they were not planning to take part. This unusual stipulation led Erdmann to suggest that this was a clear preamble to the First Crusade where the pope promised protection of the lands of those who took the cross.²²⁰ It is important, therefore, to see this in perspective. The Iberian church from very early on had been interested, understandably, in the process of reconquest but by the second half of the eleventh century it was starting to be influenced by the ideas of Holy War which were being developed by reformers in the papacy, based on Saint Augustine's arguments for *bellum iustum*.²²¹ It is however, hard to see how the calls for this campaign would have been made

²¹⁹ F. Fita, 'Cortes y usajes de Barcelona en 1064 - textos inéditos', *BRAH*, XVII (Madrid, 1890), 404-407.

²²⁰ Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 137.

²²¹ Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, eds. H. Bettenson and J O'Meara (London, 1984), 32; Cowdrey, 'The Genesis of the Crusades', 15-21.

in northern France and Normandy without the support of the monastic orders, like Cluny and the papacy itself. Although it is certain that the Catalan church would have been unable to influence the Norman nobility in Normandy to participate in the Barbastro campaign, it is likely that if the Normans were already in Spain on pilgrimage to either the Holy Land or Saint James of Compostella, they might have been attracted by the call to arms being proclaimed by the local clergy.²²² This ecclesiastical intervention together with Alexander II's letter suggests the strong support that the church was giving to this expedition of reconquest of Barbastro.

The narrative sources for this expedition are more abundant than those relating to Roger of Tosny's expedition to Spain some decades earlier. It seems that the international nature of this expedition attracted the attention of more chroniclers both from the Christian and Muslim side of the conflict. Although the Spanish Christian sources do not give a very clear view of the events of this campaign, the Moorish sources provide the most detailed accounts of the Frankish and Norman involvement in this expedition. Perhaps the most well known Arab account of the Barbastro campaign is al-Bakri's account of the fall and reconquest of the city to the Christians.²²³ The account clearly shows the shock felt by the Muslim communities over the fall of the city and the desire of the Christian leaders to take booty and slaves.

²²² M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984), 147-148.

²²³ Al-Bakri, 'al Himyari, al-Raud al-mi'tar', in *Christians and Moors in Spain*, III, eds. C. Melville and A. Ubaydli (Warminster, 1992), 70-71.

The people of Ghalish [southern France] and the Normans (نورمانون; *Nurmanun*),²²⁴ raided it [Barbastro] unexpectedly, due to its small number of defenders and their lack of readiness. Their leader was called al-Biyutbin (?), who commanded an army of about forty thousands knights. They besieged it for forty days, until they captured it. This was in the year 456 [1064 A.D.]. They massacred the men and took a countless number of Muslim children and women as prisoners. It is related that they picked out five thousand Muslim virgins and beauties and sent them as a present to the ruler of Constantinople. [The Franks] gained so many goods and possessions in Barbastro that it beggars description.²²⁵

The graphic detail given by this Muslim source was clearly shocking to its author, especially in suggesting that the Christians sent their virgin Muslim captive women to the Byzantine Emperor as a gift. The source is important for the subject of the Normans' role in the campaign since it describes them as a separate group from the Franks confirming Christian sources, which claim that the Normans were present in this venture. Clearly the Moorish chronicler knew the Normans as a distinct group and did not confuse them with other Christian peoples that participating in the expedition. This is significant since it shows that the Moors of Spain were clearly informed about the Normans. In addition, it suggests that Roger of Tosny might have left a vivid memory of the Normans among the Moors of northern Spain. Although this reference does not totally confirm the Muslim perspective on Roger of Tosny's participation in the Iberian *Reconquista*, it certainly suggests that the Moors in northern Spain were well

²²⁴ Arab word for Normans. *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary*, N. S. Doniach (Oxford, 1987), 819.

²²⁵ Al-Baki, 'al Himyari, al-Raud al-mi'tar', 70-71.

aware of the Normans as distinctive group. In addition, it suggests that Adémar of Chabannes's stories about Roger's brutality were not totally of his own creation. The source also mentions the leader of the expedition, but his name is hard to relate to any of the leaders mentioned by the Christian sources.²²⁶ The identification process is made even more difficult using the Christian sources since each of them places the leadership of the expedition on different local figures.²²⁷

For the Normans who took part, the main source is Amato de Montecassino's *History of the Normans*.²²⁸ Amato, who as his name implies, was a monk of the southern Italian monastery of Montecassino, wrote his chronicle in the late eleventh century and was clearly writing to exalt the deeds of his Norman patrons who, as lords of Sicily, were great benefactors of the monastery. It is therefore important to treat with reservation what he says about Robert Crispin's actions in the campaign of Barbastro because of his often uncritical vision. Amato attributed the leadership of the expedition to Robert Crispin, who according to his account was the most prominent Norman noble.²²⁹ Amato is not the only Christian source on the expedition as there are other accounts such as the Poitevin *Chronica de Saint Maixent*, which although not being Norman in origin mentions the Norman involvement.²³⁰ In a similarly way the First Crusade to Palestine did not have a single leader but

²²⁶ *RHLE*, II, 336-340.

²²⁷ Ferreiro, 'The siege of Barbastro', 135-136.

²²⁸ Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de Normanni* (Rome, 1935), 13-15.

²²⁹ Ferreiro, 'The Siege of Barbastro', 137-138.

²³⁰ *Anno MLXII Goffredus dux obsedit Sanctonas civitatem, castris in circuitu positis et fame et gladio vastavit usque quo Andegavenses et cives, qui in ea erant, se cum suis omnibus in manibus tradiderunt. Inde habiens in Hispaniam cum multis Normannis, Barbastam civitatem nomini Chistiano, cunctis qui erant in ea prius perditis, adquisivit.* 'Ex chronicis Maxentii', ed. D. M. Bouquet, *RHGF*, XI (1904), 220. This Poitevin chronicle, although constructed in the twelfth century, contains material from earlier periods.

each army had its own independent commander and it seems more likely that each contingent from Burgundy, France and Catalonia also had its own.²³¹

Apart from Robert Crispin there is also a claim by Wace that another Norman lord, Walter Giffard, Lord of Longueville, participated in the expedition of Barbastro in August 1064.²³² Wace also claimed that this great Norman lord who Amato does not mention, also went to the shrine of Saint James of Compostella and brought a Spanish horse, which was used by William the Conqueror in the Battle of Hastings.²³³ Lomax claims that the horse was a gift from King Sancho Ramirez of Aragon to the duke of Normandy. He suggests that this was the case since it is well known that the Aragonese monarch tried very hard to strengthen his relations with northern French and Norman lords. These relations would ultimately create close ties between his descendants and the house of Perche in Normandy, as will be seen in the next chapter with relation to Rotrou of Perche's involvement in the Iberian campaigns of his cousin Alfonso Sanchez I of Aragon.²³⁴ If Walter Giffard of Longueville's trip to Saint James of Compostella is factual, it would suggest that this Norman had at least some religious motivation behind his contribution in the Barbastro campaign.²³⁵

However, the relationship between his participation in the military campaign of Barbastro and his pilgrimage to Saint James suggests that the

²³¹ 'Ex chronicis Maxentii', 220.

²³² Archer, 'Giffard of Barbastro', 303-305.

²³³ Ibidem; Wace, *Le roman de Rou*, II, 164; Lomax, 'The First English Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela', 166.

²³⁴ Ibidem.

²³⁵ Wace, *Le roman de Rou*, II, 164

Barbastro campaign, at least in the eyes of Wace, was indeed considered a form of Holy War. However the lack of references to this episode by both Amato and even by Orderic Vitalis are very notable. Moreover, Wace has a dubious reputation with modern historians for his imaginative and fantastical narrations of events in Normandy, which suggests that perhaps some of these references might not be totally accurate descriptions of reasons for Walter Giffard's absence from Normandy before the Battle of Hastings. Giffard's involvement in Barbastro is harder to clarify since there is no contemporary record of his adventure in Spain in either Normandy or Spain. However, there is a source which links Walter Giffard of Longueville with Barbastro apart from Wace. This is the Chronicle of Geoffrey Gaimar in which the author, as Archer indicated, refers to Walter Giffard of Longueville as Giffard of Barbastro, because of his participation in the expedition.²³⁶ Although if Walter did indeed receive a horse from Sancho, as Lomax suggested, it would not be a clear indication that he took part in the expedition since Sancho's input is not totally clear either. Sancho's involvement in the Barbastro campaign is likely, but it cannot be proven as there is no direct reference to him. The acquisition by Walter Giffard of Longueville of the Spanish horse is not totally implausible, as Spanish horses were already famous in Normandy before the Norman conquest of England.

It is almost impossible to explore whether Robert Crispin, as the most documented Norman figure of the expedition, was motivated by religious zeal. From his later career it is easier to assume that he must have been mostly

²³⁶ Archer, 'Giffard of Barbastre', 304.

interested in booty, although Amato says that Robert stayed in the city after its fall.²³⁷ However, Amato's claim cannot be substantiated since according to Catalan records there is no mention of any other leader of the expedition staying in the city apart from Ermengol III, count of Urgel.²³⁸ Of course, the Catalan documents are full of praise for their local nobles and have proven to be relatively unreliable with regards to foreign participation in the reconquest.²³⁹ Yet it seems more likely that Amato simply replaced the name of the count of Urgel with that of the Norman to increase his importance in the expedition. This is likely especially because by 1066 Robert was already in Italy visiting the monastery of Montecassino. Although this is not a clear confirmation that Crispin was not interested in staying in Spain as some other Normans might have been, it seems more logical that if he was truly involved in the idea of reconquest in Spain he would have stayed after the fall of Barbastro to the Muslims in 1065, which Amato describes vividly as a deed from the devil himself. Like Henry of Huntingdon's later verdict in relation to the failure of the Second Crusade, Amato blamed the fall on the sins of the pseudo-crusaders who had taken it a year earlier.²⁴⁰ As a monk, Amato tried to justify the Norman's actions and the later fall of the city to the Saracens from a theological perspective, describing struggle between the Christians and the Muslims as a struggle between good and evil.²⁴¹

²³⁷ *Et tout l'ost voust que Robert Crispin la feïst garder, à ce que en lo second an retournant o tel exerçait ou plus grand, pour prendre des autres cités d'Espagne*, Amato de Montecassino, *Storia di Normanni*, 14-15.

²³⁸ *'Et succedit ei Ermengaudus (Count of Urgel) filius eius, qui fuit de Barbastre, eo quia in obsidione Barbastrenensis castrî, quod a Sarracenis adhuc detinebatur, plurium laboravit...'* *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, eds. L. Barrau Dihigo and J. Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1928), 33; Fita 'Cortes y Usages de Barcelona', 408-410.

²³⁹ Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche and the Aragonese Reconquest', 114-116.

²⁴⁰ HA, 737-739.

²⁴¹ C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles the writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), 21-56.

It seems logical to assume that unlike his contemporary Robert Guiscard, who had carved out a principality in southern Italy, Robert Crispin was more interested, like some of his Viking ancestors, in moveable wealth than in the acquisition of land. Robert was perhaps inspired partly by the success of his kinsman in Sicily who under the papal banner had conquered great wealth and land from the Saracens and Byzantines. For although he might have gained a state in Barbastro, of which the records have been lost, after the loss of Barbastro he did not continue fighting in Spain, but decided to try his luck elsewhere, travelling to Sicily in 1066 and finally ending up in Constantinople working as a mercenary.²⁴² Certainly, his exploits were seen by his Norman contemporaries as an example to be followed in Spain and other parts of the Mediterranean world. However because of the Norman conquest of England in 1066, the Norman nobility for the next 30 years was engaged in the conquest of the new kingdom and the opportunities for enrichment and settlement relatively closer to home. This helped to decrease Norman interest in the Mediterranean world and especially in Spain until the early decades of the twelfth century, a theme which will be explored in the next chapter.²⁴³

The claim that the Normans had acquired bounty can be substantiated by the Moorish chronicler al-Bakri, who laid great emphasis on the brutality of the Christian forces from across the Pyrenees and the booty they took from

²⁴² Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de Normanni*, 15; Amato of Montecassino, 'History of the Normans (on Robert Crispin)', 270-271.

²⁴³ Ibidem.

their Muslim inhabitants. Certainly, the acquisition of moveable wealth was of vital importance to a soldier of fortune, which from what Amato describes of Robert's exploits in Italy and in Constantinople, seems to have been his main motivation.²⁴⁴ Robert was a member of the Crispin family, descended from a Norman named Gilbert Crispin because of the curious style of his hair, according to the chronicle of Milo Crispin. According to the same Chronicle, Gilbert Crispin, elder brother of Robert Crispin, was given the castle of Tillières by Duke William of Normandy as a hereditary fiefdom for his bravery in the defence of Normandy against the French incursions. Milo explains that Robert Crispin was the youngest of three brothers.²⁴⁵ Robert was therefore not the heir of the family so after his eventful involvement in Spain he went to Sicily and later to Constantinople where he died in the service of the Byzantine Emperor.²⁴⁶ From this, one might be inclined to believe that he was not interested, like Roger of Tosny, in returning to Normandy and that his motivations for taking part in the Barbastro campaign were purely financial, not spiritual.

Was the Barbastro campaign a crusade?

Whether the campaign of Barbastro was a crusade is a matter of great discussion among historians. The ambiguity of the letter of Alexander II in relation to the pilgrims going to Spain has been the main area of dispute between the historians who claimed that Barbastro was the first crusading

²⁴⁴ Amato of Montecassino, 'History of the Normans (on Robert Crispin)', 270-271; Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de Normanni*, 15.

²⁴⁵ Milo Crispin, 'On the Origins of the Crispin Family', 84-85.

²⁴⁶ Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de Normanni*, 15

expedition and those who oppose this claim. There has been another source that has helped to increase the controversy over whether Barbastro was a crusade. This is the Arab chronicle of Ibn-Hayyan which, according to Dozy's translation, describes the leader of the expedition as the leader of the Roman cavalry.²⁴⁷ Because of the importance of crusading ideas, such as the remission of sins and the duty to fight the heathen in the 'just war' of restoring Christian territories lost to the Muslims, on the early Norman participants in the Iberian conflict, this will be addressed further here. As noted in the introduction, the conundrum of what makes a 'crusade' does not have an answer accepted by everyone. This is of course an important point since most historians writing on Spanish history normally assume that Barbastro was a crusade but do not actually discuss the topic in much depth, while most traditionalist and pluralist crusader historians usually refer to Barbastro as a predecessor to the First Crusade with varying views of its significance.²⁴⁸ The controversial letter written by Alexander II to the participants of this expedition says:

With fatherly love we exhort those who are intending to journey to Spain, that they take the greatest care to achieve those aims which, with divine admonishment, they have decided to accomplish. May each of them confess, according to the quality of his sins, to his bishop or spiritual father and, lest the Devil be able to accuse them of impenitence, may a measure of penance be conferred upon them. We, however, by the authority of the holy Apostles

²⁴⁷ Ferreiro, 'The Siege of Barbastro', 131.

²⁴⁸ Soldevila, *Historia de Catalunya*, 102-103; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, 148-149; Erdmann, *The Origins of the Crusades*, 136, 139, 288-89.

Peter and Paul, lift the penance from them and grant a remission of sins; our prayers go with them.²⁴⁹

This letter is a clear example of the rising interest in holy war among the Frankish nobility in the decades before the First Crusade and the shift from a political war of restoration of the Visigothic kingdom into a struggle for the expansion of Christendom by the Iberians, as Amato de Montecassino describes in his chronicle. Whether papal approval for the expedition makes this expedition a crusade in any modern understanding of the word is not relevant. Moreover, it is likely that the reasons and motives for the planning and involvement in this expedition were as diverse as the number of peoples to took part in it.

For the Catalan contingents, the political advantage of the expedition to the count of Urgel may also have been the prime motivation. Certainly, this expedition, although strongly supported by the Catalan bishops, looks from its geographical location to have more directly benefited Ermengol III of Urgel for its relative proximity to the Muslim stronghold. This is especially so because he was the only main leader to stay in the city after its conquest and when the city was recovered by the Muslims he was the Christian leader in charge.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ BL, Add. MS 8873, fol. 48 r-v (English Translation: Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 73).

²⁵⁰ However, as it is also clear that Barbastro was much closer to the Aragonese than to the Catalans it has been argued that, it had been more in the interest of this other Iberian power to conquer it. Whilst, some historians have suggested that the Aragonese monarch participated in this expedition there is no contemporary or near contemporary source to sustain such a hypothesis. *Cròniques Catalanes*, ed. L. Barrau Dihigo and J. Massó i Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), 33; Fita, 'Cortes y usajes de Barcelona', 404-407.

Despite this papal approval for the expedition was not sufficient to attract warriors to come all the way to Spain. Unlike the First Crusade thirty years later, there were no great speeches and preachers moving across the western world urging the faithful to take the cross or to repent and travel to Spain. In this sense, the church outside Spain was not so interested in propagating the religious benefits of this expedition. Even within the Spanish context it seems that the expedition was only supported militarily by the count of Urgel and perhaps some Aragonese and Catalan knights. There is for example, no indication that Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona took part in the expedition or gave any substantial support. Perhaps the earlier experiences of his father and his grandmother Countess Ermessenda with the Norman Roger of Tosny had made the Barcelonese count uneasy over the participation of the Normans, like Robert Crispin, in the expedition or with the Franks in general.²⁵¹ It is more likely that Ramon Berenguer I simply was not enthusiastic about the prospect of increasing the domains of the count Urgel. It is also striking that Sancho Ramirez I of Aragon is not mentioned by any of the sources, although he was the nearest Christian ruler to the city of Barbastro.

The assumption that the papal letter was referring to the participants of Barbastro has also been placed in doubt by Ferreiro, who pointed out that it

²⁵¹ *Cròniques Catalanes*, 33. It is also likely that Ramon Berenguer I did not find the conquered city of Barbastro that useful since it was closer to the territories of his potential rival, the count of Urgel. Moreover, as the count of Barcelona was trying to unite all the Catalan speaking *Marca Hispánica* under his leadership, he would not have found the conquest of Barbastro profitable for this purpose, as this would certainly have increased the power and prestige of the count of Urgel. Therefore, the local Catalan political situation might have had still greater importance for the Catalan ruler than the religious motivation promulgated by the clergy of his own region and perhaps the pope himself. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 26.

was not clear on whether the people addressed were planning to go to Spain on a peaceful pilgrimage or on a crusade.²⁵² However, as explained in chapter I, there is the problem that the word 'crusade' or the distinction between an armed and an unarmed pilgrimage in the charters of the period did not exist. Moreover even after the First Crusade the crusaders were referred to as pilgrims. Logically, this is not enough to suggest that the letter was indeed referring to a crusade launched by the papacy against the Muslims in Spain. Moreover, this is also an area which has been problematic, since to many historians of the pluralist persuasion, to call an expedition of this sort a 'crusade', it had to be organized by the papacy.²⁵³ Boissonade, who was one of the first historians to discuss the problem, seems to have thought that a crusade was any kind of war led by Christians to fight against the Muslims with the approval of the papacy which, as discussed in the introduction, anticipates the pluralists school of thought to certain degree.²⁵⁴

Indeed, the interpretation that Barbastro was a crusade was based on the assumption that the letter of Alexander was indeed referring to the participants of the expedition and not to a group of pilgrims planning to travel to the Shrine of Saint James as Ferreiro has suggested.²⁵⁵ However, the fact that the main force behind the Barbastro campaign was not the papacy, encouraged Rousset to conclude that the campaigns of the *Reconquista* before the First Crusade were not crusades.²⁵⁶

²⁵² Ferreiro, 'The Siege of Barbastro', 134.

²⁵³ Ibid., 133.

²⁵⁴ Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 271-275.

²⁵⁵ Ferreiro, 'The Siege of Barbastro', 133.

²⁵⁶ P. Rousset, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris, 1978), 31.

However, this technicality has not stopped other historians from calling the Barbastro campaign a 'crusade'. According to Dozy's controversial translation of al-Bakri's chronicle, the leader of the expedition, who has also been difficult to identify, was the holder of the Roman banner of Saint Peter. This indicated to Dozy, Boissonade, Goñi Gaztambide, Soldevila and Menéndez Pidal that the campaign if not totally organized by the papacy was indeed supported by it.²⁵⁷ For these historians, the idea that Barbastro was not a crusade was not in question. For them, all the campaigns of the *Reconquista* during the eleventh century were crusades, even if the papacy had nothing to do with them. However, Dozy's accuracy in translating the Chronicle of Ibn-Hayyan has also been questioned by Villey, who argued that *ar-rum* was not a designation for the holder of the banner of Saint Peter, but a typical reference to the chief of the Christian cavalry.²⁵⁸ Of course, the argument of whether the word meant the leader of the Roman Cavalry or a typical way of referring to Christians, as Villey argued, is of great importance for whether Barbastro was a crusade or not, since it has been argued that to be a crusade this military campaign had to have at least the endorsement of Rome.²⁵⁹ Dozy's argument is mostly based on the assumption that the Arab Chronicle of Ibn-Hayyan was referring to the holder of Roman Banner and not just to a group of Christians and that Alexander's letter was indeed referring to those involved in the Barbastro campaign.

²⁵⁷ *RHLE*, 335-350; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 271-275; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 50-52; Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, I, 147-151.

²⁵⁸ M. Villey, *La croisade: Essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (Paris, 1942), 69-71.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-71.

Spanish historians like Goñi Gaztambide have taken the argument even further, arguing that since the ninth century the papacy had supported the *Reconquista* and that the papal bull of Barbastro was a clear indication of the increase of the pope's interest in the Iberian peninsula.²⁶⁰ For Goñi Gaztambide the arguments put forward by Villey and Rousset claiming that the letter of Alexander was not referring to the Barbastro campaign were not strong enough to undermine his claim that this operation was a crusade.²⁶¹

British historians interested in Spanish history have also joined in this discussion. Lomax in his book on the Spanish reconquest, did not dare to declare completely that the Barbastro expedition was a crusade, although he did seem to support the idea by stating that 'the 1064 expedition against Barbastro may perhaps have been the first to have the juridical status of a crusade, though this cannot be definitely be proved.'²⁶² Lomax's declaration comes in sharp contrast to Fletcher who argued that Ibn-Hayyan's phrase does not mean commander of the Roman cavalry and Alexander II's indulgence has no connection with the campaign. 'The Barbastro episode presents several points of interest, but that it was a 'pre-Crusade crusade' is not among them.'²⁶³ Making his opinion clear that the Barbastro expedition did not fulfil the requirements of a crusade, Fletcher argued that a crusade ideology did not appear in Spain before 1123 when Calixtus II declared his support for the military ventures of Alfonso I of Aragon against the Moors.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 50-51.

²⁶¹ Ibidem.

²⁶² Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 59.

²⁶³ Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain', 42.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 43.

By far the most influential historian in Britain to have dealt with the question of whether Barbastro was a crusade or not has been Bull, who in his work on the lay response to the First Crusade argued very strongly that the Barbastro expedition did not fulfil the requirements of a crusade. Apart from mentioning the previous arguments, he also argued that even if Alexander's letter was referring to the participants of this expedition, he did not give them a remission of sins but remission of penance.²⁶⁵ For Bull the expedition of Barbastro was not a crusade because it was, an expedition motivated by a desire for wealth and not by a religious desire for the remission of sins, which was the norm in crusading expeditions like the First Crusade to Palestine.²⁶⁶ Although it is undoubtedly true that the Barbastro campaign had a materialistic aim, it is also true that even the First Crusade was not totally religiously motivated.²⁶⁷ Moreover, if we accept that Alexander's letter was indeed referring to those involved in the Barbastro campaign, the religious motivation might have helped to attract some participants. However, as we have seen in the case of the Normans the Barbastro campaign had probably little religious purpose and was perhaps seen just as an economic venture similar to the invasions of Sicily and England.

Of course, the definition that a crusade is a military expedition, which receives support from the papacy or is organised by it, is problematic, since it suggests that previous military ventures in the Iberian peninsula and in Italy were also crusades and of course if this is so Boissonade's claim that

²⁶⁵ Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 76.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁶⁷ J. Phillips, *The Crusades 1095-1197* (London, 2002), 14-18.

Barbastro was the first crusade is also placed on shaky ground. What seems to attract Dozy and Boissonade to conclude that Barbastro was the first crusade unlike all the other Iberian ventures undertaken by Iberians alone is the fact that many French knights took part in this venture.

Based on the 'pluralist' and Erdmann's 'generalist' approach one may argue that the Barbastro campaign was a crusade, if Alexander II's letter is accepted as an indication that the pope supported the Iberian venture. Moreover, if we also accept Dozy's interpretation of the Arab chronicle, which claims that the leader of the Barbastro expedition possessed the papal banner of Saint Peter, which would suggest the full support of the pope for this expedition, it would be logical to consider the Barbastro expedition a crusade. It is also important to notice that even if these two sources are not proven conclusively to be referring to papal support for this expedition, the Catalan sources give us indications that the bishop of Vic supported this expedition, implying that the clergy at least in Iberia supported the expedition.²⁶⁸ However, most historians who have followed either the 'traditionalist' or 'pluralist' approach tend to consider the expedition to Jerusalem of 1095 as the First Crusade, because in this case, unlike Barbastro, there are a great number of chronicles and documentary sources, which clearly indicate the primordial importance of the papacy in the formation and development of this expedition.

Because of the scarcity and ambiguity of the documentation the conundrum of whether Barbastro was truly a crusade or not is not easily

²⁶⁸ Fita, 'Cortes y usajes de Barcelona en 1064', 404-407.

answered.²⁶⁹ Also since the concept of crusade and the word crusade are modern terms it is difficult to use the primary sources to answer this question. Moreover, the fact that contemporaries of the events did not seem to draw a great distinction between the participants of the First Crusade to Palestine and those who went to Iberia, suggests that the question of whether Barbastro was a crusade or not, is irrelevant in the context of the period. Although the First Crusade to Palestine possessed features like the promise of the full remission of sins which were completely innovative and had far greater consequences than the remission of penance promised by Alexander II. The Barbastro remission of penance was perhaps a preamble to the later proclamations. Moreover, the crusading movement changed and evolved as centuries passed and the theological arguments behind it evolved with it. Moreover the First Crusade to Palestine contained many features that the Barbastro expedition did not have, such as the full remission of sins and the great involvement of members from all social castes.²⁷⁰ Although these arguments have not proven conclusively whether Barbastro was a crusade or not, they have shown that at least many of the expeditions launched in Iberia after the First Crusade could be defined as crusades or at least they possess the same status as those expeditions to the Holy Land. However, although the term crusade does not have a definition that it is accepted by everyone, for the definition used in this thesis the Barbastro campaign was not a crusade because, as discussed in the previous chapter, unlike later expeditions in Iberia and the Holy Land it is unlikely that those who took part were convinced that this expedition was

²⁶⁹ Jotischky, *Crusading*, 6-10.

²⁷⁰ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 24-27.

giving them any spiritual reward beyond the usual worthiness of a war against the heathen.

Chapter III

Decline and revitalization of the Norman Participation in Iberia (1066-1157)

After the relatively successful international expedition to Barbastro in 1064 there were two great events that although unrelated to the peninsular conflict had a great impact on the rising interest of the Norman nobility in the Iberian struggle for reconquest. The first was the Norman conquest of England, the second was the First Crusade to the Holy Land. However, although those two events seem to have coincided with a decline in Norman participation, the second seems in the long run to have revitalized the involvement of Norman and later the Anglo-Norman nobles in Iberia, as will be explored in this and in following chapters. The Norman conquest of England on the other hand, although it gave the Norman nobility a more obvious place closer to home for expansion and self-enrichment, also created a new elite in the English kingdom that would be more involved in continental affairs.

The Norman Conquest of England

First, this chapter will address the Norman conquest of England. This is a theme, which has been extensively studied by historians in the British Isles since the time of the conquest itself, for it had important implications for the transformation of the country, with the local nobility almost totally replaced by a new Norman one and because of the evolution in the political and social fabric of the country that this change produced. However, for the subject of this thesis the Norman Conquest will be explored as the main reason for the

short-lived decline of Norman adventures in other areas of Europe and especially the Iberian peninsula.

In January 1066 King Edward (the Confessor) of England died leaving no clear heir to the throne, which produced great confusion in his battered kingdom.²⁷¹ The claim of Harold Godwinson, head of the most powerful comital house of the kingdom, to the succession was based on the allegation that the late monarch had chosen him as his successor on his deathbed.²⁷² On the other side the William duke of Normandy claimed the throne of England based on a assertion that Edward had promised him the kingdom in 1051, while he was an exile in the Norman duchy and that the promise had been reconfirmed many times by Edward subsequently sending many emissaries.²⁷³ The narratives on the subject disagree about the succession rights from both the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman perspectives.²⁷⁴ This is an area which has been discussed, but no clear legal conclusions considering who had a better claim to the throne can be easily reached.²⁷⁵ In a way this argument was fired up since the time of the conquest by the Normans, due to the necessity for the new monarch to legitimize his position as ruler of the kingdom apart from the obvious right of conquest, which in reality had put him in control of the English Crown.

²⁷¹ Haskins, *The Normans*, 71-74; J. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997), 24-39; B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation: Normans in Britain 1066-1100* (New York, 2001), 15-26.

²⁷² Douglas, *The Norman Achievement*, 45.

²⁷³ William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, eds. D. E. Greenway, B. F. Harvey and M. Lapidge (Oxford, 1998), 68-69.

²⁷⁴ G. Garnett, 'Conquered England 1066-1215', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of England*, ed. N. Saul (Oxford, 1997), 62-68.

²⁷⁵ Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, 75-83; Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, 24-39; Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation*, 15-26.

However, the legitimacy of the Norman invasion of England was perhaps less important to the great numbers of nobles, knights and foot soldiers who came during the original invasion or as a result of it. To these groups the invasion of England represented a great opportunity for enrichment much closer to home and under the suzerainty of a familiar overlord than until that moment the Sicilian kingdom or the Iberian campaigns against the Moors had represented.²⁷⁶ For this reason obviously the Norman conquest, which was far from completed a decade after Hastings, became a magnet for adventurers and ambitious settlers from all over Normandy who might otherwise have gone to the Iberian peninsula or other areas.²⁷⁷ As was shown earlier, Norman nobles with Iberian connections like Walter Giffard and Ralph of Tosny were involved in the conquest and profited greatly from their exploits in England, acquiring new lands and rights. This may have convinced them to stay in the Anglo-Norman area of influence, which still presented many opportunities. For example, Wales was far from conquered in the last decades of the eleventh century and Scotland and Northumberland still produced ample opportunities for conquest for ambitious adventurers.²⁷⁸

The First Crusade to the Holy Land (1095-1101)

The Norman conquest of England therefore represented a very obvious distraction and as the Norman regime started to become firmly established in

²⁷⁶ Douglas, *The Norman Achievement*, 52; Haskins, *The Normans*, 81; Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, 27-47; Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation*, 61-66; Garnett, 'Conquered England', 69-70.

²⁷⁷ D. Crouch, 'Normans and Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?' in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), 54-56.

²⁷⁸ W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North* (London, 1979), 120-230.

the 1080's after the failure of the last large important Anglo-Saxon rebellion, the Norman knights and adventurers, who were still eager for conquest, were easily satisfied by penetrating into the Welsh March and into Scotland. However as this was occurring, as examined in the previous chapter, the church was being transformed by a new zeal for internal reform partly inspired by the Burgundian monastery of Cluny. Gregory VII, stimulated by this push for purification of the church, also started to address more directly the theological arguments of *Bellum iustum*, which Saint Augustine had developed in his *Civitas Dei*, to propose war against the enemies of the faith both in the East to protect Byzantium and in the west to fight the Moors.²⁷⁹ These ideas did not attract a great following during his papal rule, especially in relation to a planned pseudo-crusade in Spain in the 1080's which did not come to fruition.²⁸⁰ However when Urban II called for the nobility of western Europe to defend the eastern church and the Holy Land in Clermont-Ferrand, his call was received with great enthusiasm. As he equated the idea of Holy War with the growing popularity of the pilgrimage, this made those who joined the crusader movement not only acceptable to God for their holy cause but pilgrims who would redeem their souls from their personal sins by doing God's will.²⁸¹ Therefore popular clamour coined the phrase 'Deus volt', 'God wills it', in reference to the relative innovation of Urban II's promise of remission of sins in God's holy cause. Of course the great appeal of the crusading speech of

²⁷⁹ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 3-7; Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 21-23, 33-39, 258-281; M. Bull, 'Origins', in *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1999), 15-34; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, 468.

²⁸⁰ Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 81-82; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 27-31.

²⁸¹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of Crusading*, 22-30; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 10-1; Housley, *The Crusaders*, 13-16; E. Peters, *The First Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1998), 1-13; Lloyd, 'The Crusading Movement', 35-36; Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, 328-331.

Urban II was the result of many different economic and social conditions coinciding with a dramatic change in the religious and cultural mood of Europe at the end of the eleventh century.²⁸²

The crusader movement and the evolution of Christian Holy War that had occurred since the days of Constantine the Great and Saint Augustine received with Urban II's argument new strength that resulted in one of the most remarkable events to occur in Medieval Europe. The enthusiasm of both the upper classes and the peasantry for this new redefinition of holy war changed the way it was defined in the west and increased its popularity and relevance in the eyes of contemporaries. Therefore although many of the ideas that were to be associated with the crusading movement had existed in Iberia before Urban II even considered launching his call to arms, the main concept of remission of sins became of primal importance in an age where the idea of penance was rising in popularity.²⁸³ Although the First Crusade was launched specifically as an expedition to the East, its original aims have been hidden by its results in the interpretation of clerical chroniclers who recorded the historical narrative a few years after the events.²⁸⁴ Its popularity was so great that even the Iberian nobility was influenced to take the cross and join the growing revolution, only to be stopped by Urban II, who saw the danger that this would cause by leaving Christian Iberia unprotected while its nobility was on the other side of the Mediterranean.²⁸⁵

²⁸² Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom*, 108-117.

²⁸³ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 32.

²⁸⁴ Peters, *The First Crusade*, 17-22; T. A. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham, 1999), 1-4; Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom*, 36-44.

²⁸⁵ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 61-62; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 33.

This First Crusade to the east was primarily preached in France and the practically independent duchy of Normandy was no exception. The crusading call tapped into the Norman nobility's desire for adventure and enrichment as a result of war, but it also addressed the anguish produced by the Christian theological beliefs that seemed to suggest the sinfulness of a society formed and maintained by continuous military struggle.²⁸⁶ The crusade as it has been later defined, was perhaps therefore more appealing to some very pious Norman nobles than perhaps the conquest of England had been. Either way by the end of the eleventh century the political situation in the Anglo-Norman world had changed dramatically since the days of William the Conqueror, as after his death the England and the duchy had been separated politically. William Rufus inherited England, while Normandy had been given to King William I's eldest son Robert Curthose.²⁸⁷ This division caused great problems to the nobility whose patrimony was divided between two realms thus also splitting their political allegiances.²⁸⁸ This situation especially made the crusade enterprise, an ideal diversion to many nobles in Normandy who were eager to be loyal to Robert, but were not prepared to lose their patrimony in England because of it. The crusading fervour was so strong that Robert himself took the cross and William II although not so keen to join his brother, lent him money for this purpose, taking the duchy as guarantee.

²⁸⁶ M. Chibnall, *The Normans* (Oxford, 2000), 96-97; A. Graboïs, 'Anglo-Norman England and the Crusades', *ANS*, VII (1984), 132-137.

²⁸⁷ F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), 53-59; Crouch, 'Normans and Anglo-Normans', 51-55.

²⁸⁸ Green, *The Aristocracy in Norman England*, 270-271.

A great expedition of Normans left the duchy and some from England even travelled to join it and the other great magnates from Burgundy, Champagne, Lorraine and many other areas of Europe on the land route to the Holy Land; therefore, bypassing the Iberian peninsula altogether.²⁸⁹ The First Crusade although it served to distract for even longer the Norman input into Iberia, helped greatly in fomenting a more pragmatic vision of the Christian struggle against the enemies of the faith which ultimately helped to increase the appeal of the *Reconquista* in the eyes of the Norman and later Anglo-Norman nobility and merchants. The *Reconquista* from the outset of the First Crusade was being equated with the war in Palestine.²⁹⁰

The Return of the Normans

In the first half of the twelfth century there were two great adventurers from Normandy with some Anglo-Norman connections who played an important role in the reconquest in Aragon and Catalonia. They were Rotrou of Perche and his follower Robert Burdet, who might have participated in the campaigns of Alfonso I the Battler since the early twelfth century.²⁹¹ Robert Burdet, in particular, was important, for his involvement in New Catalonia where he managed to acquire the title of prince, under the suzerainty of the church, of the spiritually important city of Tarragona. Rotrou's contribution in the Iberian *Reconquista* soon after the fall of Saragossa, can be seen as testimony to the increasing development of the idea that Iberian war against

²⁸⁹ Graboïs, 'Anglo-Norman England and the Crusades', 132-133.

²⁹⁰ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 33.

²⁹¹ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 80-86.

the Muslim was starting to be perceived as an alternative theatre for the crusading movement. However, Robert Burdet's achievements can also be used to show that as in the Holy Land the crusaders were equally eager to embark on this kind of expedition for the purpose of enrichment of the body as well as the soul.²⁹²

Rotrou of Perche and Robert Burdet in Aragon

The main narrative source for both Rotrou's and Robert's lives is Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History*, which was written a few years after events that occurred during the Spanish reconquest from 1119 to 1135. This chronicle has been most recently translated and edited by Chibnall in six volumes.²⁹³ Some Spanish sources like the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña* and *Los Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, together with charters which have survived in the archives of Spain, also help to confirm some of Orderic's claims. Rotrou and Robert Burdet are important both as representations of the vibrant movement of the Norman nobility to conquer new territories and as part of the well-documented and fully researched influence of the First Crusade on young aristocrats and on veterans of this crusade. They are also interesting examples of the ability of the Iberian branch of the crusading movement to attract interest from the Anglo-Norman nobility in the first half of the twelfth century. Therefore, it is important to see Robert's and Rotrou's motives both from the Norman tradition of adventure and desire for conquest

²⁹² Bull, *Knightly Piety and lay Response*, 258-288; A. Graboïs, 'The Description of Jerusalem by William of Malmesbury', *ANS*, XIII (1990), 155.

²⁹³ OV, VI, 397; N. Webber, *The Evolution of the Norman Identity* (Woodbridge, 2005), 142-147; E. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda Myth and Subversion* (Oxford, 2001), 180-213.

as well as from the crusading ideology which was being developed as result of the success of the First Crusade in conquering Jerusalem.²⁹⁴ The remainder of this chapter will focus on the origins and personal motives of these two Normans before moving onto their achievements.

Origins of Rotrou of Perche

Rotrou of Perche's position as count on the border between the Île de France and Normandy is relatively well-documented. Also, his significance during the wars between Robert Curthose and Henry I and his relative importance to Henry's rule over Normandy have made him a well-researched figure. Thompson's book on the county of Perche has given a full account of his achievements in Normandy.²⁹⁵ Moreover, his own life in Normandy is not all directly related to the crusading movement and the Spanish *Reconquista* and as it would take us away from the main focus of this chapter, that aspect of his career is only mentioned here in passing.

Rotrou was the only son of Geoffrey, count of Perche and inherited the county from his father in 1099, while participating in the First Crusade. Rotrou's involvement in the First Crusade was probably inspired by Robert Curthose's decision to take the cross after the Council of Clermont in 1095. At this time his father Geoffrey of Montagne was still a viscount and Rotrou was his heir. He might have also been inspired by his father's contribution in the Norman conquest of England, when his overlord the duke of Normandy had

²⁹⁴ Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche and the Aragonese Reconquest', 118-133.

²⁹⁵ Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France*, 54-85.

requested his father's help and now Rotrou was prepared to do the same, following Robert Curthose to the Holy Land. However, judging from his later career it is likely that he had some religious motivation for taking part in such an innovative expedition as the First Crusade. Rotrou's contribution in the First Crusade is not as well documented as that of more famous Normans like Bohemond of Taranto, Tancred and Robert Curthose. However, there are references to his bravery in the sieges of Nicea and Antioch.²⁹⁶ In the *Chanson d'Antioch* Rotrou is mentioned as one of the most heroic participants in the sacking of Antioch and later as the leader of one of the sorties that disbanded the Muslim coalition forces that tried unsuccessfully to retake Antioch after it fell to the crusaders.

The fact that he returned to Normandy after the First Crusade suggests he went to the Holy Land not in hope of gaining land but for religious motives or to increase his prestige within the duchy of Normandy. Of course, it is difficult to read much into the original crusader intentions from the results of his involvement, as these motives might have changed with the transforming circumstances to which they were exposed.²⁹⁷ Soon after Rotrou's return the disputes between Robert Curthose and his brother Henry, became more apparent when Henry gained the English throne after the death of his brother William Rufus in 1100. It seems that Rotrou's input in the crusade improved his personal prestige as he was acknowledged as count, a higher title than that of his father, who had only been a viscount.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ *La chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Duparc-Quioc (Paris, 1978), lines, 2023, 2816, 2929, 3506, 3622, 4695, 6131, 8990.

²⁹⁷ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 82-83.

²⁹⁸ Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France*, 52.

Soon after his return from the Holy Land, according to Orderic Vitalis, Rotrou was involved in an Iberian campaign in Aragon in the first decade of the twelfth century where he and his Norman followers helped Alfonso I in a campaign against the Moors. However, the Spanish chronicles do not mention any foreign aid to Alfonso during this period.²⁹⁹ This expedition, which Orderic claims ended abruptly when the Aragonese plotted against their Norman allies, is a subject of great controversy among historians as Nelson has shown.³⁰⁰ If the plot did exist and it was not a creation of Cluniac gossip against the Aragonese monarch as Nelson has suggested, it could be argued that it was a demonstration of the dissatisfaction that the Aragonese nobility felt toward their foreign allies' arrival. However, it is likely that the reason for the short-lived expedition was either the degeneration of the situation in Normandy as Nelson argues, or perhaps when the Normans went to Aragon, Alfonso had to send them back home without a fight for local reasons. If this expedition took place between 1104 and 1105 as Nelson claims, it is probable that Alfonso had a truce with the Taifa of Saragossa and was more interested in the consolidation his marital alliance with Castile, which seems to have been proposed by the dying Alfonso VI of Castile. So it is likely that the arrival of the eager group of Norman crusaders did not suit his immediate political aims and he sent them back.³⁰¹ Perhaps the frustration felt by crusaders who had hoped to fight in Spain, ended by creating rumours of treachery from the Aragonese side.

²⁹⁹ OV, VI, ed. Chibnall, 397.

³⁰⁰ Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche and the Aragonese Reconquest', *Traditio*, XXVI, 113-133.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

Origins of Robert Burdet

According to Orderic Vitalis, who is the most important Norman source to mention Rotrou's and Robert Burdet's careers in Spain, Robert was from Cullei (Rabodages) in Normandy.³⁰² From the name used by Vitalis in his chronicle, one may infer that Robert Burdet belonged to the branch of the family who stayed in Normandy. Nevertheless it is also possible that he may have had connections in England since, as Vitalis affirms, Robert's wife Sybil was a daughter of William le Chèvre, whom Chibnall has identified as an Anglo-Norman noble possessing lands in Somerset by 1086.³⁰³ In his nineteenth-century edition of the Orderic's chronicle, Le Prevost introduced a connection between the Burdet family in Normandy, which as Chibnall has correctly asserted was still flourishing in the middle of the twelfth century and the branch of the same family which came to England soon after the Norman conquest and settled in Leicestershire.³⁰⁴ According to Chibnall, the Burdets, were vassals of the Grandmesnil family in Normandy, who also possessed lands in Italy. Interestingly in the cartulary of Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, there is a series of charters of members of the Burdet family who gave lands to the priory.³⁰⁵ Unfortunately, this compilation of charters does not mention any specific dates or other indications that would allow us to relate them to Robert or his close relatives directly.

³⁰² OV, VI, 402.

³⁰³ Ibid., 404-405.

³⁰⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesica*, V, ed. A. le Prevost (Paris, 1855), 8.

³⁰⁵ T. Bourne and D. Marcombe eds., *The Burton Lazars Cartulary: A Medieval Leicestershire Estate* (Nottingham, 1992), 19, 21, 44-46, 67, 73.

There is a Robert Burdet who could be an ancestor of the Robert in question, who held fiefs in England from Hugh de Grandmesnil.³⁰⁶ Probably the same Robert Burdet in England also appears as one of the knights of Ivo Grandmesnil, who is named as a witness in a charter, which gave land for the foundation of the priory of Kirby in 1077.³⁰⁷ But this Robert Burdet is clearly not the same one who became Prince of Tarragona in 1129. He could be an ancestor of the Tarragonese prince, perhaps a grandfather. However, the genealogy of the Burdet family in Normandy and England in the late eleventh and early twelfth century is far from clear and the names Robert; William and are frequently used. The lack of any charters in England or Normandy from the first quarter of the twelfth century, relating to Robert suggests perhaps that he may have been a younger son from either the Norman or the English side of the Burdet family.³⁰⁸ As such he had probably inherited no lands or any substantial property, which would certainly make him a typical example of those nobles that were landless by birth and therefore arguably more inclined to join any expedition to foreign lands in hope of gaining estate of their own. Certainly, if Robert was indeed a junior member of the Burdet family, which most indications suggest, he would fit the character of those many knights who at the beginning of the twelfth century were joining crusader expeditions in France for the Holy Land. Of course in his case he was not going to the Holy Land, but to Spain, which was also being encouraged by some clergy including the papacy.

³⁰⁶ W. Farrer, *Knights' Fees*, II (London, 1924), 329

³⁰⁷ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, I (London, 1815), 562; Crouch, 'Normans and Anglo-Normans', 54.

³⁰⁸ France, *The Crusades*, 27.

Robert Burdet's wives

There has been a modern debate over the identity and the number of wives that Robert Burdet had as he lived in Tarragona based on the conflicting accounts between Orderic and the Catalan existing documentation: did he have one or two wives? These sources appear to mention two different women, Sybil (named by Orderic) and Agnes (who only appears in Catalan sources). McCrank restating an argument of Miret i Sans, has claimed that Sybil might have been the daughter of Guillelm de Cobra, a Catalan noble. But it seems unlikely that Orderic, who was extremely anxious to praise Normans in his chronicle, would have dedicated so much time to a non-Norman woman for her gallantry during the absences of her Norman husband.³⁰⁹ Also, it would have been unlikely that Orderic would have known the name of a minor Catalan aristocrat of the region of Tarragona. However, Sybil's name was as common in Catalonia and southern France at the time as it was in Normandy so McCrank's argument has some validity. But no document from the early period of Robert's rule in Tarragona names any wife,³¹⁰ while documentation from the 1140s mentions a consort for the Norman prince, not Sybil but Agnes though her family origins are not made clear in any extant documents.³¹¹ A possible solution to this problem is that Orderic did not confuse the names and Robert had two consecutive wives, that Sibyl was probably Norman in origin (which was why Orderic knew her parents and was interested in talking about

³⁰⁹ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 78.

³¹⁰ See the Appendix pp. 327-403 of documents relating to the conquest and settlement of the Ebro valley by the Normans and Anglo-Normans from the early twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries, which gives details of the present location of charters and their publication. To reduce the length of subsequent footnotes individual documents will simply be cited by number; see here for the problem of Sybil and Agnes, Appendix docs. 78, 83, 90, 101, 132, 136.

³¹¹ Miret i Sans, 'La Familia de Robert Bordet', 54.

her), and that Agnes was more likely to have been of Catalan origin as Miret i Sans suggested and was probably married to Robert after Sibyl's death. This second marriage to Agnes was probably conceived as a political alliance between Robert and a Catalan noble family in order to secure his position in the principality.

The extension of the crusading idea to Iberia

Robert Burdet and Rotrou's motivation for taking part in the Iberian campaigns of Alfonso the Battler, are hard to identify specifically, just as it is hard to find the exact reasons that attracted so many knights from across Europe to participate in the First Crusade. However it is possible to speculate as to why these Norman knights might have got involved. Robert Burdet and Rotrou of Perche were not the first Normans to come to Iberia to fight in the *Reconquista* as it has been shown in previous chapters; there was a continuous tradition of Norman influx into the peninsular campaigns by the beginning of the twelfth century.³¹² Continuous calls of help from the Iberian kingdoms and counties were made all across France to attract knights to fight in the campaigns of reconquest which by the second half of the eleventh century had become more ambitious since the fall of the magnificent Caliphate of Cordoba.³¹³ Although for most of the eleventh century the Spanish monarchs had used church connections to encourage the participation of the Frankish nobility in the Iberian conflict, by the end of the century the First

³¹² Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 17-232; *RHLE*, II, 250-331; Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 145-200; Boissonade, 'Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale', 257-301; Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 72-80.

³¹³ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 49.

Crusade placed the church as the main power behind the *Reconquista* promulgation outside the Iberian peninsula . Thanks to the momentum which followed the success of the First Crusade, more and more ecclesiastical calls for crusading in the peninsula were made. This was especially the case of Cluniac appeal, which we will explore in more detail in another chapter.

Of course, the ecclesiastical figures of the peninsula were keen to attract warriors from across the Pyrenees to help in the reconquest.³¹⁴ One of them who might have had an important influence in Robert's and Rotrou's decision to go to Spain and who later gave Robert the principality of Tarragona was St Oleguer. In 1116, Oleguer, bishop of Barcelona, was elected archbishop of the ancient and still deserted see of Tarragona.³¹⁵ A year later in 1117, the pious Ramon Berenguer III, count of Barcelona, granted the lands of Tarragona to the recently-elected archbishop as a comital charter published by Enrique Florez in his magisterial work *España Sagrada* clearly demonstrates.³¹⁶

The charter not only gave land to the archbishop, but it encouraged him to start the physical restoration of the city that was in a severe state of disrepair and abandonment. The see of Tarragona had been conquered by the count of Barcelona in 1091, but the re-population of the town and its surrounding area was initially not very successful. Tarragona had become almost a wasteland where Christian settlers were afraid to live for fear of

³¹⁴ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 61.

³¹⁵ *ES*, XXV, 116-117.

³¹⁶ Appendix: doc. 1.

Moorish raids. Since its reconquest in 1091, the bishops of Vic had kept the title but had little interest in the defence of the city and its physical restoration.³¹⁷ The grant of the lands of Tarragona to Oleguer also increased the responsibility of the new prelate over these territories. It may also have encouraged him to go to France to the councils of Toulouse (1118) and Rheims (1119) with the important mission of recruiting soldiers to help defend his newly acquired principality and the city of Tarragona.³¹⁸ The count of Barcelona probably gave this land to the church leader, hoping that by doing so he would restore the See of Tarragona to the city itself. Ramon Berenguer III seems otherwise to have had little interest in the *Reconquista* throughout his rule with the exception of attempts to conquer the Balearic Islands.³¹⁹ In his transitory conquest of Majorca, he used Norman contingents from southern Italy, who had introduced him to the potential of the Normans as allies against the Moors.³²⁰ He might even have benefited from papal support for this expedition.

Oleguer was also encouraged by a bull of Calixtus II (1123) in which he proclaimed: *Omnibus enim in hac expeditione constanter militantibus, eandem peccatorum remissionem, quam Orientalis Ecclesiæ defensoribus fecimus, Apostolica auctoritate, et concessa nobis divinitus potestate, benigne*

³¹⁷ L. McCrank, 'The Foundation of the Confraternity of Tarragona by Archbishop Oleguer Bonestruga, 1126-1129', *Viator* IX (1978), 157-177.

³¹⁸ D. Smith, 'The Abbot-Crusader Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia', in *Adrian IV the English Pope*, eds. B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), 32-33.

³¹⁹ D. Abulafia, 'The Norman Kingdom of Africa and the Norman Expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean', *ANS*, VII (1984), 26-49.

³²⁰ *Ibidem*.

concedimus.³²¹ Certainly these comparisons, between the crusades in the East and those in Spain, were not completely alien by this time to the peninsular clergy that since the time of Alexander II and Gregory VII had received theological support from the papacy to encourage some form of holy war from the Europeans north of the Pyrenees into Spain.³²² However, the popes who came after the First Crusade were prepared to apply the same indulgences which Urban II had offered in the First Crusade to the Franks who took the cross with the aim of defending Christendom on its western front. Certainly, this official encouragement from the papacy helped to make the new archbishop keener to try to restore its see to its original city using foreign aid. Also, the precarious position of Tarragona with its depopulated territories certainly forced the new prelate to call for help on the northern side of the Pyrenees.³²³

Oleguer took part in both the councils of Toulouse and Rheims, to try to gain papal support as the documents recorded by Mansi and others seem to indicate.³²⁴ It is likely that Oleguer might also have suggested especially the need that he had to recruit soldiers to defend his see. Although there is no full record of Oleguer's speech at Rheims, Orderic Vitalis mentions in his chronicle and it is plausible that he addressed his audience about problems in defending Tarragona and trying to encourage the French to assist in its

³²¹ Johannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Graz, 1961), XXI, col. 217.

³²² Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response*, 81.

³²³ Lomax, *Spanish Reconquest*, 59.

³²⁴ Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, XXI, 128-148; D. J. Tejada y Ramiro ed., *Colección de Cánones y de todos los Concilios de la Iglesia Española*, III, 2nd part (Madrid, 1854), 249; Smith, 'The Abbot-Crusader Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia', 32-33.

defence.³²⁵ This is something which might have had the support of Calixtus II, because according to Zurita, the pope had been heavily involved in Iberian politics in his early years and, being related by blood to many of the most powerful people in the peninsula, he was keen to promulgate the crusading movement into Spain.³²⁶ This actually became more apparent in the early 1120s when Calixtus solved various ecclesiastical disputes in the peninsula and made Saint James of Compostella an archbishopric.³²⁷

The Normans join the crusades in Iberia

It is possible that Robert might have joined Rotrou while he was fighting in Normandy and when the latter decided to travel to Spain to fight, Robert just simply followed. If Orderic's account of Rotrou's earlier expedition to the peninsula in the first decade of the twelfth century is to be believed, he knew the conditions and potential for conquering land there.³²⁸ Rotrou's earlier experience as a crusader made him keen to join this new crusading venture. The Ebro valley was rich in agricultural products as it is today and the prospect of holding lands there would have surely attracted the attention of both Normans.³²⁹ Robert's later career suggests that he had been prepared to stay in these new territories while Rotrou although eager to gain land had no interest in staying too long. Rotrou had already experience holding fiefs as an absentee landlord in England, where he held his wife's fiefs. Although initially interested in staying in Spain, he later wanted to return to Normandy. It has also been suggested by Thompson that the death of Rotrou's wife Matilda,

³²⁵ OV, VI, 275.

³²⁶ AnCA, I, 180.

³²⁷ U. Robert, *Histoire du pape Calixte II* (Paris 1891), 132-134.

³²⁸ OV, VI, 397-399.

³²⁹ J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España Musulmana* (Madrid, 1986), 302-305.

one of his sons and two nephews in the White Ship tragedy made him more keen to go to Spain, perhaps as a way of pilgrimage and repentance for his sins.³³⁰ Also, as already noted, the crusading calls to fight in Spain had been made throughout the first decades of the twelfth century and surely encouraged many to join in hopes of gaining land, wealth and salvation.³³¹ Certainly, Spain would have been attractive to those knights, who were eager to gain land quickly since geographically it was closer to France than the Holy Land and the cost of travelling consequently reduced. So unlike the people who went to the First Crusade, the knights going to Spain did not need as many resources for the journey, making it more attractive, at least from the financial point of view, even if the aims of the journey were mainly spiritual.

It is important to understand that according to all the evidence, Robert managed his position as protector of the archdiocese of Tarragona while he was in Spain fighting and ruling the small city of Tudela. So when he set off for the Iberian peninsula, he was not going because he had been chosen to rule this city, or had been directly invited by the archbishop. Instead, he might have been inspired by the success of earlier Normans, who had taken part in the Iberian *Reconquista* in Aragon and who had been rewarded with the spoils of battle or fiefs under the Aragonese crown since the well-known pseudo-crusade of Barbastro (1064) or even earlier. As suggested earlier, he was inspired after all, by other reasons, which might have included the developing crusading movement. So after taking some kind of crusading vow, he might have decided to travel to Spain as part of the retinue of Rotrou, a veteran of

³³⁰ Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France*, 71.

³³¹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 36-38.

the First Crusade. This expedition would have seemed a perfect way to gain remission of his sins and simultaneously increase his personal prestige and possessions.³³²

Unlike Robert, Rotrou was a well-known and politically powerful figure in Norman politics and his reasons for going to Spain on crusade, could have been more complex than those of his contemporaries and his own when going to the Holy Land twenty-seven years earlier. The White Ship tragedy had great political repercussions as it left the king without a male heir. But it was also a great loss for Rotrou who apparently had a close relationship with his wife. Aside from his wife, Rotrou also lost two nephews.³³³ This personal tragedy may have encouraged him to go on crusade to help his Aragonese cousin to fight against the Moors.³³⁴ Thompson suggests that Rotrou might also have found it politically convenient to be away from Normandy on a crusading expedition to show publicly his grief for the death of his wife, who after all was a daughter of Henry I.³³⁵

The Crusade and Reconquest of the Ebro Valley

In the interim, Alfonso I (the Battler) of Aragon had been trying to attract knights from across the Pyrenees, who would help increase his power to face on Almoravid invasion of Spain. By 1117 the Almoravids were threatening to destroy all the Christian gains of the past hundred years of reconquest and more importantly for his own political position they had

³³² Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 113.

³³³ Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France*, 71.

³³⁴ Ibidem.

³³⁵ Ibidem.

captured the economically important city of Saragossa.³³⁶ Although the Almoravids had been in Spain since the last decades of the eleventh century, by this time they had managed to unify almost the whole of the Muslim part of the peninsula.³³⁷ They threatened to reconquer all the lands that the Moors had lost since the fall of the Caliphate. Certainly, the increasing power of the Almoravids over Islamic Spain helped to produce crusading fever among many of the nobles, who had originally contributed in the First Crusade. They were being called to fight for Christianity again, but this time against a threat which that was much closer to home.³³⁸ Gelasius II even promised remission of sins to those who joined the Aragonese monarch in his crusade to take Saragossa and to fight against the Almoravid invaders who had conquered it from its native Muslim Taifa king in 1110.³³⁹ The sixteenth-century chronicler Geronimo Zurita says: *Sucedió así (según por muy ciertas memorias parece) que, estando aún en Castilla, [Alfonso I] mandó venir de Francia para esta empresa – como está dicho - muchas compañías de gente de guerra de las partes de Bearne y Gascuña, cuyos generales eran los que estaban nombrados, y otros principales señores que habían seguido y servido en guerras pasadas que hizo contra los infieles.*³⁴⁰ Although Zurita does not mention the Normans in this passage it is possible that they were called too, since Rotrou of Perche appears in this chronicle as one of the main supporters of Alfonso's campaigns.

³³⁶ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 36-38.

³³⁷ Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (London, 2004), 105-107.

³³⁸ Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 156-157.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

³⁴⁰ *AnCA*, I, 171.

It is however unlikely that Rotrou took part in the conquest of Saragossa in person, since during this time he was fighting with his ally and overlord Henry I of England against one of the most important rebellions against the king's rule over Normandy. Rotrou also appears as the main signatory in a reconfirmation charter for the Abbey of Arcisses in Normandy in 1120.³⁴¹ However, since Rotrou did receive some sectors of Saragossa after its conquest, this suggests that he might have sent money and maybe some knights to take part in this crusading enterprise. Perhaps Robert might have been sent in Rotrou's name to get involved in this campaign. However in the *fueros* of the city neither Rotrou nor Robert are mentioned among the witnesses, while Gascon and nobles of the Midi are.³⁴² Thompson suggests that another Norman, Rignal Bailleul who had been sheriff of Shropshire, might have participated in these campaigns in around 1119, after a dispute with Henry I in Normandy on the side of the Montgomery family.³⁴³ The fall of Saragossa in 1118 and Tudela in 1119 to the Christians armies under Alfonso the Battler would have encouraged knights hoping to gain a fortune in Spain. Also, the great Christian victory at Calamacha in June 1120, when Duke William IX of Aquitaine helped the forces of the Aragonese monarch defeat the armies gathered by the Almoravids to reconquer the Ebro valley, might have inspired further contributions from Norman nobility.³⁴⁴ This victory

³⁴¹ L. Merlet, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, I (Rue du Grand, 1883), 53-55.

³⁴² D. T. Muñoz y Romero ed., *Colección de Fueros Municipales y Cartas Pueblas*, I (Madrid, 1847), 448-450.

³⁴³ Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France*, 74.

³⁴⁴ Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el batallador*, 69.

certainly improved the reputation the duke of Aquitaine who had taken part in the ill-fated crusade of 1101 in the Holy Land.³⁴⁵

Participation of Rotrou and Robert in Iberia

Rotrou and Robert Burdet may have arrived in Spain around 1123, or perhaps a year or two earlier for the Aragonese campaigns in the valley of the Ebro against Saragossa and Tudela, but more likely in the campaign against Lleida.³⁴⁶ However, there is no mention of either in any of the chronicles referring to Alfonso I's campaign in Andalusia and not even Orderic, who was extremely keen to exaggerate and give examples of Norman exploits, confirms their participation in this expedition by name. Although Rotrou is mentioned in the *Chronicle of San Juan de La Peña*, as the person responsible for the conquest of Tudela, Nelson has shown this to be inaccurate since when the city fell in 1119, Rotrou was fighting in Normandy for Henry I of England.³⁴⁷ Nor does Rotrou appear in the charter of surrender of Tudela.

Rotrou occurs for the first time in surviving records in a charter that dates from 1123.³⁴⁸ Although in that charter Rotrou is named as *Comes Retro in Tudela*, it does not confirm Robert's position in the city.³⁴⁹ This suggests that Robert was not given the post of *alcaite* at the same time as Rotrou received the city from Alfonso. Robert Burdet is first mentioned in written

³⁴⁵ Orderic Vitalis, 'The Crusade of 1101', in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. E. Hallam (Godaming, 1997), 97.

³⁴⁶ Appendix: doc. 7.

³⁴⁷ Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche and the Aragonese Reconquest' 121-123

³⁴⁸ Appendix: doc. 6.

³⁴⁹ ACT, Núm. 4 (pub. Lacarra ed., 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista del valle del Ebro', in *EEMCA*, III, doc. 125).

records in Spain in a charter of Rotrou in which he granted some houses in Saragossa to Sabino, one of his knights, for his services.³⁵⁰ In this charter, which dates from December 1124, Robert appears in the witness list as *Robertus Bordeth*.³⁵¹ Although this charter does not mention Robert as a *milites*, it does seem to confirm Robert was part of Rotrou's retinue. Subsequently Robert, is mentioned as *alcaite* (mayor) of Tudela in Aragon, in a charter which is kept in the archive of the cathedral of this city and which states in its final lines: *Equitaniensis comitis nomine Retrot, sub iussu Adefonsi imperatoris est dominator Tutele. De manu comitis est alcaite in Tutela Rotbert Bordet, et iusticia Duran Pexo*.³⁵² This charter confirms Robert's position as ruler of Tudela on behalf of Rotrou of Perche, who is in turn acknowledged as vassal of Alfonso I. Two more charters dated February 1128 and November 1131 kept in the same archive show that both Robert and Rotrou held their respective positions over this town in Aragon until 1131.³⁵³ By the later date, however, Robert was already prince of Tarragona and was more probably living in the Catalan city.³⁵⁴ The fact that Rotrou is mentioned as a vassal of Alfonso in all the charters also seems to confirm Nelson's theory that Rotrou did not hold this town under complete autonomy from the Aragonese monarch, as it is claimed in the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*.³⁵⁵ In a charter published by Muñoz y Romero and which he dates to 1127, Alfonso the Battler gives the *fueros* to Tudela and its neighbours,

³⁵⁰ Appendix: doc. 7.

³⁵¹ Ibidem.

³⁵² ACT, Núm. 4 (pub. Lacarra ed., 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista', in *EEMCA*, III, doc. 125).

³⁵³ Appendix: docs. 14, 23.

³⁵⁴ Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista', *EEMCA*, III, docs. 125, 129, 165.

³⁵⁵ Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche', 121-126.

mentioning as usual both Rotrou and Robert.³⁵⁶ In this charter Robert's position as *alcaite* suggests that he was in charge of the castle and perhaps the defence of the city, as it says: *Robert Bordet alchaite in illo castello de Tudela*.³⁵⁷ Duran Pixon, as in other charters of Tudela, is named in charge of justice and the civil government.

The granting of property, special rights and freedoms was intended to attract settlers from the older and more secure Christian territories to the newly-conquered cities and lands on the frontiers of Christendom.³⁵⁸ Certainly Robert's time as *alcaite* in Tudela prepared him for his rule as Prince of Tarragona in the techniques of resettling the boundaries of the Christian world, even if he was not directly responsible for the granting of rights or properties while he was in Tudela. Although the evidence suggests that Robert had little to do with the running of the government of Tudela apart from being a witness in all the charters, he may have learned Iberian techniques for attracting settlers to the newly reconquered town. In addition the charters suggest that Robert was close to Rotrou of Perche, being given charge of this relatively important outpost. This agrees with the theory proposed by McCrank that Robert came to Spain as part of the retinue of Rotrou of Perche.³⁵⁹ Before 1123 there is no mention of Robert's involvement in the Aragonese campaign, although there is mention of his overlord Rotrou. Yet, as Nelson has suggested, Rotrou's input in the *Reconquista* during the campaigns of the Ebro is very unlikely, because of the lack of contemporary charters mentioning

³⁵⁶ Muños y Romero, *Colección de Fueros Municipales*, I, 420-422.

³⁵⁷ Ibidem.

³⁵⁸ A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1977), 36-45.

³⁵⁹ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 69.

him in the conquest of Saragossa or Tudela, which may have occurred during 1118 or 1119. However, although there is no mention of either Rotrou or of Robert it is not completely unlikely that Robert at least was a player during the later campaigns of Alfonso I of Aragon. Whatever Robert's role was in these campaigns it is certain that he had a close relationship with Rotrou. Orderic's claim that Rotrou was involved in an earlier crusade and had been betrayed or may have had to return to Normandy without his due for the services to the king, may explain why he received Tudela as a lordship without actually contributing in its conquest.³⁶⁰ However, his prestige and perhaps his personal army of Normans might also have represented an important deterrent for the Almoravids.

Orderic Vitalis mentions that Rotrou led an army made up of Franks and Gascons against a fortress named Peña Cadiella (Benicadell).³⁶¹ Although this expedition is not recorded in any contemporary Spanish chronicle, it is plausible since this hill was well known at the time as it protected a passage between Valencia and Alicante and helped control the movement of troops from Murcia to Valencia. This position, as Lacarra has shown, was of strategic importance for Alfonso's plans to raid Andalusia.³⁶² Moreover, the expedition was planned with the consent of the Aragonese monarch who was aiming to lead his great expeditionary force against Andalusia. Lacarra dates the expedition to the winter 1124 and 1125: Galindo

³⁶⁰ OV, VI, 397.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 401.

³⁶² Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador*, 82-83.

Sanchez, leader of the confraternity of Balchite, which took part in it and which Orderic calls the Palm, was back in Aragon in 1125.³⁶³

This Aragonese knight made a great impression on his Norman comrades since Orderic praised him as *uir in nulis laudandus*.³⁶⁴ Orderic argued that Rotrou returned to France with most of his retinue in 1125 and, therefore, he did not participate in Alfonso's audacious expedition against Andalusia, which Orderic claimed was undertaken at least partly out of envy of Rotrou's exploits.³⁶⁵ Of course, Orderic's opinion on the motives of Alfonso in launching his expedition has more to do with the dislike that he and his order generally felt towards the Aragonese monarch, than for any real envy of Rotrou's minuscule achievements, which were more probably planned at least partially by himself. Alfonso's real reasons for launching this campaign have been researched in more detail by Lacarra in his biography of Alfonso.³⁶⁶ Robert most certainly stayed in Aragon guarding his possession in Tudela and administering Rotrou's possessions on his behalf, since he is mentioned in many charters from 1126 to 1128 in Tudela.³⁶⁷

Orderic Vitalis's source of information for the events that took place in Spain and Rotrou's importance were probably gathered from eyewitnesses. Nelson has suggested that these may have been Silvester of Saint-Calais and Reginald of Ballieul-en-Gouffren, for Orderic mentioned these two relatively

³⁶³ OV, VI, 400.

³⁶⁴ Ibidem.

³⁶⁵ Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 162.

³⁶⁶ Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el Batallador*, 83.

³⁶⁷ I. Rodríguez de Lama, *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Rioja*, II (Logroño, 1976), 148; Lacarra ed., 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista', in *EEMCA*, III, doc. 125, 129, 165.

unimportant nobles who were members of Rotrou's expedition into Spain that had returned.³⁶⁸ Misunderstanding of these two unimportant characters may have helped Orderic to over-emphasise the importance of Rotrou's achievements in Spain in comparison to those of the Aragonese monarch.

Robert Burdet and the Principality of Tarragona

Oleguer's reasons for choosing Robert as prince of Tarragona are hard to understand. It is likely that he preferred to choose a foreign knight over a local Catalan to avoid raising local disputes increased by envy that would distract the new ruler from his more pressing necessity of the defence of Tarragona from the Moors. Oleguer might also have thought that a foreign landless knight would be more easily controlled since he did not have an important power base close by and did not know the local nobility as well as himself. The impressive fame of the Normans in fighting against the infidels in the Holy Land and Sicily might have also helped to convince the saintly Archbishop to choose a Norman knight to be his co-ruler over Tarragona. Canon Blanch says that Oleguer was recommended to choose Robert by a group of knights and Bishop Ramon of Vic.³⁶⁹ McCrank suggests that Oleguer might have met Robert when he travelled to Aragon in 1122 to confirm Alfonso's foundation of the Order of Balchite.³⁷⁰ However, the diplomatic record does not confirm that Robert was already in Aragon by this date so this suggestion seems less plausible. It is more likely that Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona or Alfonso I or one of their vassals suggested Rotrou for the post of

³⁶⁸ Nelson, 'Rotrou of Perche and the Aragonese Reconquest', 132.

³⁶⁹ Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologi de la Santa Església Metropolitana i Primada de Tarragona*, I, 82.

³⁷⁰ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 69.

prince of the city. Furthermore Rotrou might have suggested to the Archbishop, his lieutenant Robert instead for this position, since he was probably planning to return to his county. Alfonso I knew Robert as the charters of Tudela show. Moreover, the count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer III might have met Robert when Alfonso I of Aragon unsuccessfully tried to conquer Lleida and had a *tornio*³⁷¹ with the Catalan count over the rights over the city. Alfonso's attempt to take the city started in February 1123 and we know that by April, Robert and Rotrou were already in possession of Tudela, so it is likely that they may have participated in the attempt to conquer Lleida. Robert's appointment as Prince could have encouraged more knights from across the Pyrenees to come to Spain and help in the *Reconquista* hoping to be rewarded with great estates and titles.

Robert's appointment as Prince of Tarragona by Archbishop Oleguer in 1129 was confirmed by a charter which gave him the title and secular powers to rule the city. This charter survives in a fourteenth-century copy held in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona. To understand clearly the position which Robert Burdet held in Tarragona until 1149 when the arrangements were modified, one must look at this charter closely to understand the secular and religious arrangements in the short-lived Norman principality in Catalonia. The charter refers to the donation by which Ramon Berenguer III had given Oleguer full sovereignty over the territory of Tarragona. More importantly it claims that this donation had been accepted

³⁷¹ Lacarra suggests that this *tornio*, which is recorded in a document of the see of Saragossa was a legal dispute the count had with the Aragonese monarch over who had the right to conquer the city. Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el batallador*, 83.

and ratified by the papacy, which suggests that the territory of Tarragona had become a part of patrimony of the papacy.³⁷²

In the charter, which echoes the conditions of a coronation, using the idea of the monarch, being the defender of the church, the archbishop conferred on Robert the title of prince under the suzerainty of the Church and with the agreement of the count of Barcelona. Although the charter does not give any clear indication of any power relationship between the Norman prince and the Catalan count of Barcelona, it does confirm that the land had originally belonged to the count. This factual acknowledgement left open the possibility that the count might have had some rights over the granted land.³⁷³ This section also emphasizes Robert's responsibility as protector of the city. Perhaps his role as *alcaite* of Tudela was well known to Oleguer and when he issued this charter he was thinking that Robert would play a similar part in Tarragona. But the Catalan prelate was also emphasizing the position of the new prince and making it clear that ultimate sovereign power over the principality would still rest with himself.

Giving all the secular powers over land in the principality, the archbishop guaranteed Robert and his heirs' rights over the city, its people, lands, villages, mountains and sea. Moreover, it put Robert in charge of upholding the laws to be imposed on the population, which they both were supposed to create. It also maintained that all the laws proclaimed would be

³⁷² Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el batallador*, 83.

³⁷³ Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologide de Tarragona*, 82-83; Jordà Fernández, 'Terminologia juridical i dret comú', 355-357.

enacted by common agreement between the archbishop and the prince.³⁷⁴ It certainly gave the Norman prince freedom to impose some of his own Norman customs on his subjects if he saw fit. There is not however, any sign that he did so, although in the charter of 1149 this freedom was to be restricted by placing Tarragona under the same legal framework as the county of Barcelona. This may suggest that Robert introduced laws that were controversial in some way. It is likely that Robert had complete freedom to introduce his Norman laws after Oleguer's death when he was virtually free from any ecclesiastical over-lordship.

However after giving so many rights and duties in the charter, Oleguer confirmed that he kept complete control over all the ecclesiastical institutions, lands and rights and kept the secular ruler out of them, in this case Prince Robert who openly acknowledge his submission.³⁷⁵ He also guaranteed the freedom of the clergy and their families from any secular rule.³⁷⁶ This section was intended to guarantee the autonomy of the church within the state, in accord with the Cluniac beliefs of church independence, which were by the early twelfth century firmly established in Catalonia. It was also logical for Oleguer to put these conditions in place from the beginning of the foundation of the state since many monarchs across Europe were trying to place the clergy under a secular legal framework.

³⁷⁴ Jordà Fernández, 'Terminologia jurídica i dret comú', 358-360.

³⁷⁵ ACA, Cancillería, Reg. No. 3, Fol. 6 (pub. in J. M. Font Rius ed., *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, I (Barcelona, 1969), 88).

³⁷⁶ Benito Ruano, 'El principado de Tarragona', 110

The title of *princeps* (prince) given to Robert by the archbishop, is unusual in a Catalan context of the early twelfth century (although not in other parts of western Europe), but according to Jordà Fernández is a good example of the introduction of the Roman Justinianic law into Catalonia.³⁷⁷ It was probably intended to emphasise the fact the new secular protector of Tarragona was a vassal of Rome and therefore under the jurisprudence of the pope as inheritor of the power of the emperors. If this is the case, it certainly shows an early adoption of Roman concepts in the legal framework of Catalonia.³⁷⁸ Although the title is used throughout Robert's rule over Tarragona in the latter years of his life, he also appears as *comes* probably as the count of Barcelona started to reclaim his over-lordship over the city. Moreover in 1137 the new count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, started to use the title of Prince of Aragon to rule his new kingdom as consort of the queen of the kingdom. The union of the two most powerful realms of eastern Iberia certainly placed more pressure on the independence of the Norman principality.³⁷⁹

According to Orderic Vitalis's contemporary narrative, soon after receiving the new principality, Robert travelled to Rome to get a confirmation of his rights over the city and to convince Honorius II to free him of any secular over-lordship which might have been suggested under Oleguer's charter. Then he went on to Normandy to raise some of his countryman to help him defend his new city from the Muslim threat, while he left his valiant wife Sybil

³⁷⁷ Jordà Fernández, 'Terminologia jurídica i dret comú', 357.

³⁷⁸ Ibidem.

³⁷⁹ Ibidem.

to defend the city keeping the guards awake and patrolling the walls fully armed.³⁸⁰ According to Florez this trip must have taken place in 1129, soon after the Norman knight had accepted the donation.³⁸¹ Sybil, his wife, seems to exemplify the wives of crusaders who went to the Holy Land keeping charge of their husband's lands and properties in their absence. However in Sybil's case, it seems that the roles were reversed since she stayed in the crusading area defending their new territories while her husband went to his old home on a recruitment drive to improve the defences of their new estate.³⁸²

Orderic is the only source that states that Robert did indeed go to Rome and to Normandy around 1130. Orderic's relationship to Robert is not clarified by what he wrote, but it is probable that he at least knew people who were acquainted with Robert since they were contemporaries. Orderic was probably finishing his chronicle when Robert visited Normandy to recruit Norman followers. Robert's success in raising knights in Normandy to defend his new principality is unknown since Orderic does not say anything about this. He might have attracted some warriors since he was able to take part in Alfonso I of Aragon's campaign against Fraga in 1135 and was able to keep the city until there were enough Catalan settlers in the area. However, the exact number of participants is uncertain due to the lack of documentary sources.³⁸³

³⁸⁰ OV, VI, 404-405.

³⁸¹ ES, XXV, 126.

³⁸² Miret i Sans, 'La familia de Robert Burdet', 54.

³⁸³ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 70.

After he had returned from Normandy Robert was probably faced with the reality of his newly-acquired lands in Spain. There is a missing charter, which is mentioned in a later charter from 1149, in which Robert gave the citizens of Tarragona exemption from any tax except for tenths and first fruits, with the acceptance of the count of Barcelona. The charter of 1149, was a reconfirmation of Robert position as secular ruler of Tarragona by Archbishop Bernardo Tort.³⁸⁴ With this, he established the legal framework under his authority and the church of Tarragona. The wording does suggest that the count of Barcelona was always acknowledged in Robert's charters although he is not mentioned as an overlord although the archbishop is. The establishment of franchises for his new territories was the logical first step taken by any conqueror in Iberia. This was especially the case when cities were taken and the new rulers had a great need to attract as many people as possible to the new partially empty city, which was normally left after the Moors were defeated.

In the case of Tarragona, however, the city had been abandoned for a long time and the Moors never seem to have populated it, so it was of even greater importance for Robert to find as many new subjects as possible if his new principality was going to last. The giving of tax exemptions certainly attracted people who would otherwise have preferred to stay in the highlands of Catalonia where the Moorish raids were more unlikely and life was more peaceful.³⁸⁵ Certainly, as stated above, Robert had already learned the

³⁸⁴ Font Rius ed., *Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña*, I, 89.

³⁸⁵ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 94; MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, 36-45.

techniques of attracting settlers for re-population from his experience as *alcaite* of Tudela.

After Robert Burdet's return from Normandy to 1146 there are no charters that I have been able to find to recreate Robert's government of his principality, until the confirmation in 1149 by Bernardo Tort, the new archbishop of Tarragona, of Oleguer's grant of the principality to Robert. However from the ascension of Archbishop Bernard onwards the diplomatic record is more complete.³⁸⁶ It gives a vivid account of the legal battles between Robert and his children with the new Archbishop.³⁸⁷ The reason for the end of the relatively good relations between the archbishop and the prince over Tarragona is due to a combination of circumstances that change the view of Tarragona in the eyes of both the archbishops and the counts of Barcelona. When Tarragona was given to Robert Burdet in 1128, the city was deserted and ruined as Orderic Vitalis described.³⁸⁸ Moreover, as Tortosa, Fraga and Lleida were still under Almoravid rule and the Balearic Islands were also under Muslim rule, the city was completely surrounded by enemies.³⁸⁹ This situation made this barren outpost of Christianity hardly attractive as a place of residence for Archbishop Oleguer, who most probably preferred to live under the security and comfort of his Episcopal palace in Barcelona. The distance between Robert and his ecclesiastical overlord probably meant that he could do almost as he pleased without too much interference.

³⁸⁶ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 73.

³⁸⁷ Miret i Sans, 'La familia de Robert Burdet', 57-63.

³⁸⁸ OV, VI, 402-403.

³⁸⁹ Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, 105-123.

For the count of Barcelona, Tarragona did not seem to be of interest while he was trying to consolidate his supremacy over the other Catalan counts and over the Muslim cities of Lleida, Fraga and Tortosa. Tarragona, with its lack of population and its ruined state, it had hardly seemed of any interest for the archbishop and the Barcelonese count during the two first decades of Robert Burdet's rule. Oleguer seems to have died in 1137 and inexplicably the see was vacant until 1144 giving the Norman ruler complete freedom of action. Moreover, although Gregory of Cuixa was elected archbishop in 1144, he died soon after and Robert Burdet had continued freedom of action until 1146 when Bernard Tort was elected archbishop.³⁹⁰

End of the independent Norman principality

However, by 1148 the situation had changed and Tarragona was no longer surrounded by Muslim cities and it is likely that its defences and population had been extended. When Bernard Tort was elected Archbishop he was not at the same time bishop of another city so he was encouraged to move his residence to the city itself, making his relations with the Norman prince more difficult to maintain without confrontation.³⁹¹ Also by 1148, the count of Barcelona was no longer the pious Ramon Berenguer III but the more practical and politically astute Ramon Berenguer IV, who in 1137 had married Patronila heiress of Aragon.³⁹² Patronila was the daughter of Ramiro II of Aragon, the monk-king, who the Aragonese had force to resign his ecclesiastical office after his brother, Alfonso the Battler, was killed in the

³⁹⁰ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 72.

³⁹¹ Blanch, *Arxiepiscopologide de Tarragona*, 86.

³⁹² *AnCA*, I, 227.

battle of Fraga.³⁹³ This political marriage not only increased the prestige of the Catalan count but also enhanced his powers, as he became prince of Aragon and regent, since his wife was very young and his father-in-law returned to his monastery as soon as the deal was struck. Moreover, in 1149 Ramon Berenguer IV became interested in consolidating his confederation of lands and regaining his father's previous donations of territories. Tarragona was now part of the rising crown of Aragon and its independence no longer suited the Catalan ruler. Moreover in 1148 the count, with a crusading bull on his side and with the aid of Genoese and Anglo-Norman crusaders, had managed to conquer Tortosa, ending Tarragona's isolation.³⁹⁴

In this atmosphere of political change Bernard Tort was elected archbishop of the see of Tarragona and the tensions between the Norman prince and his ecclesiastical overlord started to intensify.³⁹⁵ It was to clarify the position of Robert with regards to the new archbishop and especially to the count of Barcelona, that the charter of reconfirmation was drafted as McCrank argues.³⁹⁶ However, it is possible that this charter was rather an imposition of the new archbishop on the Normans who for the last eleven years had ruled Tarragona with almost complete independence. It is likely that Berenguer IV wanted to clear his position as overlord of Tarragona before his crusading ventures against Tortosa and Lleida. Moreover, in his wish to unify his territories before launching his crusading invasion of the last Muslim cities on the Ebro Valley, his desire to reunite the Principality of Tarragona with

³⁹³ CAI, 80.

³⁹⁴ CAT, 7; G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', *Tradito*, IX (1953), 227.

³⁹⁵ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 71.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 75.

Barcelona is clearly visible in his subordinates' actions against the Norman Prince. There, Bernard Tort acted more in the interest of his secular overlord than in that of his ecclesiastical ones and seemed to have no objection to the reinstitution of a clear contractual relationship with the Barcelonese count.

The charter of 1149, which survives in two fourteenth-century copies kept in the Municipal Archive of Tarragona and the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, is far more restrictive than that of 1128. At first the charter seems to confirm that all the donations were given by Oleguer, but soon starts to assert the right of the church and reduce the properties Robert had and the levies he could make.³⁹⁷ This decrease of Robert's income shows the growing interest of the new prelate to be financially independent and to reduce the power of Robert in the archbishopric's see. The charter states that a fifth of all the incomes of Robert's principality including his raids on Moorish territories, were supposed to be given to the archbishop. It is probable from this point onwards, that Robert would have realised that his relative independence was ending. But these new arrangements were not bitterly opposed by Robert, probably, since they were relatively mild and necessary to pay the enormous expenses of making Tarragona a suitable place to be the second most important see of the Iberian peninsula.³⁹⁸

Apart from the fifth of the city revenues, which Bernard took away, he also placed under his direct jurisdiction the oven and mill probably to secure

³⁹⁷ Appendix: doc. 29.

³⁹⁸ ACA Cancillería Reg. n.º 3, fol. 4 ^a) (pub. Font Rius ed., *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, I, 112).

his complete economic independence from his Norman vassal. Certainly, the comparison does seem to imply that the archbishop had no intention of sharing any of his main resources with the Prince and that ultimately, he would not be satisfied until he had the entire city of Tarragona under his complete control.³⁹⁹ The fact the archbishop was placing all the church property and clergy outside the jurisdiction of the secular prince seems to coincide with the growing movement within the church to stop any kind of secular interference in the church affairs in the middle of the twelfth century. In this case in particular it was certainly convenient for the archbishop to emphasise the Church's immunity in the confirmation charter of Robert's secular powers. Of course, the comparison with the conflict between Thomas Becket and Henry II over similar parameters, twenty years later, is clearly visible.⁴⁰⁰ However, in this case the prelate had the upper hand to impose his will over the secular lord, unlike the situation in England it was harder for the archbishop to manoeuvre to make the clergy free from secular jurisdiction. In Robert's case, he did not possess the legitimacy that the English king could historically claim to be independent from church impositions. Robert's resources and connections were also far inferior to those of the English monarch.⁴⁰¹

The charter also includes a section which states: *Iudicabunt supradicti iudices negotia civitatis et territorii secundum leges et bonas consuetudines Barchinone*.⁴⁰² This certainly shows Bernard's desire to place

³⁹⁹ ACA Cancillería Reg. n. 3, fol. 4^a) (pub. in Font Rius ed., *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, I, 112).

⁴⁰⁰ Duggan, 'Henry II's penance for Becket's murder', 265-270.

⁴⁰¹ A. Forey, *The Military Orders* (London, 1992), 23.

⁴⁰² ACA Cancillería Reg. n. 3, fol. 4^a) (pub. in Font Rius ed., *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, I, 113).

the principality under the jurisdiction of the count of Barcelona.⁴⁰³ By being a native Catalan and being more familiar with the law of his country than the foreign prince, Bernard would always have the upper hand in any legal dispute that might arise with the Norman. Certainly, if this was the case the Catalan archbishop had decided from the very beginning to overthrow the Norman principality and return the Tarragonese territory to the county of Barcelona, perhaps from either a personal ambition or to satisfy the designs of Ramon Berenguer IV.⁴⁰⁴ Certainly, the extension of the Catalan legal framework was an affirmation that the principality was ultimately to be reintegrated in to the comital lands of Barcelona and, more importantly, whatever independence from secular power it might have previously had, was to end. Although the charter did not imply the direct over-lordship of the county of Barcelona over the Norman principality, it created a more direct connection between the counties of Barcelona and Tarragona.

The rest of the charter is conciliatory and includes a section where the new prelate indicates that all the main judges and administrative civil servants must have his personal approval. These restrictions also existed to a certain extent in the original grant of Oleguer. The difference was now that they were now going to be imposed more concertedly since the archbishop was moving to live in Tarragona and the city was becoming less of an isolated Christian outpost surrounded by Muslim enemies.⁴⁰⁵ Although this charter restricted Robert's powers over Tarragona and reduced his income substantially it

⁴⁰³ Miret i Sans, 'La familia de Robert Burdet', 56.

⁴⁰⁴ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 73.

⁴⁰⁵ Benito Ruano, 'El principado de Tarragona', 113.

seems it was not enough for the archbishop, or it caused such anger among Robert's family that ultimately disputes started to arise between the archbishop and the Burdets. It is certainly interesting to notice that by this date in the charter Robert had a second wife called Agnes and a son called Guillermo de Aquilone, who appears as a signatory and as a recognised heir to Robert over the principality.⁴⁰⁶

Lastly, the reconfirmation charter of Tarragona did not seem to satisfy either side in the political establishment of the principality. Robert and his family had lost most of the independence that they had enjoyed during the absence of an archbishop and some of their income. However, Bernard Tort had not ended the Norman rule over Tarragona which seems to have been his main objective, so conflict was not averted and disputes arose between the two parties especially after Robert's death c 1156. However before he died the administration of the principality continued to work without any apparent antagonistic interference of the archbishop. This is evident in a re-confirmation of franchises dated on 3 September 1149.⁴⁰⁷ This charter, which we previously have seen, was intended to confirm the rights, which Robert had granted to the people of Tarragona when he became prince. The charter is certainly not dissimilar to any other reconfirmation of *fueros* in the peninsula. The charter guaranteed *nullum faciant servitum, censum vel usaticum*, to attract people to

⁴⁰⁶ The name *Aquilon* or *Aguilon* is usually used in Spanish sources to refer to Burdet family. I have not been able to trace a convincing origin for the name but it is likely that it was the surname of Robert's second wife Agnes and that Robert might have adopted it after he married. Another possible might have been the result of an Iberian scribe converting Robert's original hometown of Cullei into something more common in Catalonia. Miret i Sans, 'La familia de Robert Burdet', *Segundo congreso de historia de la corona de Aragón*, I, 56-58.

⁴⁰⁷ Benito Ruano, 'El principado de Tarragona', 112; McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 72; Miret i Sans, 'La familia de Robert Burdet', 54.

come and settle in the city.⁴⁰⁸ This part did not directly affect the finances of the church and Bernard Tort was prepared to allow it to continue without any objection.⁴⁰⁹

Certainly, this clause might not have been agreeable to the new archbishop, who might have seen this as a serious decrease in his personal income. However, it seems to have been in the original charter of *fueros*, which Robert had granted to the citizens of Tarragona soon after he received the donation of the city and its repeal certainly would have upset the citizens and nobles of the principality. This would have caused the citizens to take the side of their secular prince in any future dispute between the two overlords, something that the archbishop could not afford. It is likely that the original grant might have been made with the acceptance of Archbishop Oleguer when the city was completely deserted, the archbishop had his own personal income from the bishopric of Barcelona and the most important priority in Tarragona was to encourage repopulation.⁴¹⁰ The new reconfirmation of *fueros* of the city might have been seen as the perfect opportunity to change the original arrangements between the citizens and their overlord, especially since in Bernard Tort's case he was not bishop of Barcelona and he was less prepared to give up this income as his predecessor, especially now that the city was more populous and wealthy. However, as explained before, the political conditions of the principality would have undermined his popularity among the nobility the ever wealthier merchants of the city and the principality in general.

⁴⁰⁸ Font Rius ed., *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, I, 120.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibidem.

⁴¹⁰ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 70; A. Virgili, 'Conqueridos i colons a la frontera: Tortosa 1148-1212', *Recerques-Barcelona*, XLIII (2001), 50.

Therefore in this charter Bernard seems to have been persuaded to accept the *status quo*, for the time being.

Robert Burdet appears to have died in around 1155 or 1156 and from then on his rights as prince passed to his son Guillermo or William who in Tortosa in 1171 seems to have been assassinated by members of the family of the then archbishop of Tarragona.⁴¹¹ This in turn caused the two remaining brothers Berenguer and Robert, to assassinate the archbishop, but leading the Norman family to flee to Moorish-controlled Majorca in order to avoid punishment from the Church and the count-king.⁴¹² The blood feud was partially resolved in the 1180s during the reign of Alfons II of Aragon-Barcelona, when William II, grand-son of Robert Burdet was partially restored to some of his grandfather's lordship, but by then any independence of the principality had long ceased to exist and the Burdet/Aquilon family became nothing more than one of the many aristocratic families who possessed lands in the territories of new Catalonia under the lordship of the counts-kings of Aragon and Barcelona.⁴¹³ Like their fellow Anglo-Norman settlers in Tortosa they were quickly assimilated into the local aristocracy and, because of the lack of new Norman immigrants after a few generations, they ceased to be considered foreign.

The ultimate decline of the independence of the Norman principality over Tarragona signalled the end of an era where Norman adventurers had

⁴¹¹ *AnCA*, II, 93; *RDO*, I, 105.

⁴¹² Miret i Sans, 'La familia de Robert Burdet', 55.

⁴¹³ McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 77-78.

managed to acquire kingdoms and principalities with little or no control by other Christian lords in the Mediterranean. However, Robert's and Rotrou's original achievements did not stop impressing and encouraging many waves of Normans and Anglo-Normans, who only a few years after their arrival in Iberia as part of the Second Crusade and enriched themselves with the spoils of war on behalf of the Iberian rulers. Although the possibility for total independence in Iberia started to wane as the Iberian rulers increased the size of their domains and their prestige, the opportunity to augment a knight's fortunes was still very much alive at the end of the twelfth century. Moreover, the crusading zeal had also evolved to clearly indicate to the would-be participants from Normandy and England that their military efforts in Iberia would have the same status in God's view as those performed in the Holy Land. This theme will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter IV

The Second Crusade: The Great Anglo-Norman Expeditions to Iberia (1147-1149)

In 1144 Imad ad-Din Zanghi, the Turkish Emir of Mosul, took the crusader county of Edessa from its Latin ruler.⁴¹⁴ This event, albeit seemingly unrelated to the events of the Iberian *Reconquista*, was to have great importance for the Second Crusade, which led to the largest example of Norman and Anglo-Norman involvement in Iberia in the Middle Ages. For as this middle eastern city fell to Islam a great crusade was proclaimed in Rome to restore it to Christendom, which although unsuccessful in the East, made great conquests in the Iberian peninsula. This chapter will be devoted to the Second Crusade in relation to the Iberian peninsula.

As crusader ideology evolved in the twelfth century with the success of the First Crusade to Palestine, Pope Calixtus II started to accord equal status to the active players in the *Reconquista* and those who went on crusades in the East.⁴¹⁵ The Second Crusade also produced a great change in the pattern of Norman participation in the Iberian *Reconquista*. Unlike early Norman contribution in the Iberian struggle, members of this crusade were not solely from the nobility of the duchy but they were also from the rising merchant castes and knighthood of England, Wales and Normandy. In addition, this was

⁴¹⁴ Michael of Syria, 'Chronicle', in *The Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. E. Hallam (Godalming, 1997), 118.

⁴¹⁵ In 1118 Gelasius II validated the participation of the Franks in the expedition against the Muslims in Saragossa as confirmed in *La chronique de Saint-Maixent* which states: *Tolosæ fuit concilium, in quo confirmata est via de Hispania*. *La chronique de Saint-Maixent*, ed. J. Verdon (Paris, 1979), 186-187. However the first undisputed recorded equation of the *Reconquista* with the crusades to the Holy Land was in the Lateran Council of 1123. Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 62: Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 76-77.

the first appearance of Anglo-Normans in Iberia for, as we have explored in earlier chapters, the Norman participants in earlier expeditions were solely from the duchy, since the conquest of England had decreased the number of participants in the Iberian struggle. The great number of Anglo-Normans who arrived as part of the Second Crusade in Iberia in the mid-twelfth century helped repopulate Lisbon in the Portuguese kingdom as it did Tortosa under the newly formed Crown of Aragon.⁴¹⁶ To explore the contribution of the Anglo-Normans to the Second Crusade in the period 1147-1149, this chapter will first discuss the situation in England and Normandy before the crusade as a way of understanding the main reasons behind the large Anglo-Norman contribution. It will also explore how the local situation in Iberia helped to augment Anglo-Norman interest in Spain. This chapter will then explore the three different campaigns of Lisbon, Almeria and Tortosa, in three different sections looking at the participants' motives and, how many of them decided to stay behind and settle in Iberia.

The Anglo-Norman domains under King Stephen.

To understand the Anglo-Normans' involvement one must explore the situation in England and Normandy on the eve of the crusade.⁴¹⁷ This section will have a brief description of King Stephen's reign and how it might have influenced the Anglo-Norman involvement in the Second Crusade.

⁴¹⁶ Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon, 1147', 71-73; Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 90-94.

⁴¹⁷ The relevant sources are: William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Rerum Anglorum*, II, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1889), 409-500; GS, 8-120; HA, 10-127; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1967), 261-269; Symeonis Monachi, *Opera omnia*, II ed. T. Arnold (London, 1885), 280-326.

As Henry I of England died in 1135 without a male heir, the Anglo-Norman domains were thrown into a period of great instability during which time his daughter Matilda and nephew Stephen disputed the throne of England and ducal control of Normandy. This period is known as 'the anarchy' of Stephen's reign with disruption of communications and the economic growth of large areas of the Anglo-Norman realms creating division of loyalties among the nobility and the merchants. Although this impoverished large areas of the country because of warfare among different factions, it also created an opportunity for certain nobles and the Church to increase their power within the country at the expense of the monarchy. The apparent weakness of the monarchy which occurred as a result of the lack of unity of the country put the two claimants in a situation where they were forced to give up rights and powers in exchange for promises of loyalty.⁴¹⁸ Stephen's reign was therefore continuously in a relative state of instability although the disruption did not occur in the entire realm the same time. Universal peace was achieved on a temporary basis, thanks to truces and the mere factor that neither side was able economically, to be engaged militarily continuously for nineteen years.

The reign of Stephen, most historians agree, allowed the higher nobility to gain a substantial amount of wealth and power, as Stephen's dubious position as king of England forced him to use the elective principle as the way to legitimise his position as king, since his hereditary claims to the throne were much weaker than those of his cousin Matilda and his elder brother Theobald

⁴¹⁸ William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Rerum Anglorum*, II, 497; H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of King Stephen 1135-1154* (London, 1970), 27; M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda* (Oxford, 1995), 64-66; R.H.C. Davies, *King Stephen 1135-1154* (London, 1967), 14, 18, 29; E. King, *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994), 8.

count of Blois. This placed Stephen in a weaker position in relation to the upper nobility who possessed great wealth especially in land and who used their power to their own advantage and being loyal to Stephen only when it suited them.⁴¹⁹ Therefore, Stephen's royal position was held under a contractual form of monarchy, where the nobles owed loyalty to him only on condition that he promised to respect principles outlined by them.⁴²⁰ The nobles could interpret these principles according to their own needs while the king was not in a position to punish them for their disobedience, as Henry I might have done. They were therefore able to switch sides in the ongoing struggle between Matilda and Stephen.⁴²¹ It is because of these factors and the gruesome descriptions by chroniclers of the activities of the barons with respect to the Church and the peasantry, that this period has often been described as 'the anarchy'.⁴²² However, a modern appraisal of the period paints a different picture. E. King has said: 'A failure of the central control does not prelude the existence of effective control within the regions'.⁴²³ Therefore although some areas suffered great disruption there were some parts where the nobility either being entirely loyal to Stephen or to Matilda kept the peace and the institutions of government despite the lack of an effective central authority. Some of these areas were the south west and the south east of England, where most of the participants of the Second Crusade came from as we shall see in the next section.

⁴¹⁹ R. Eales, 'Local Loyalties in Norman England: Kent in King Stephen's Reign', *ANS*, VIII (1985), 89; G. O Sayles, *The Medieval Foundation of England* (London, 1958), 313; Davies, *King Stephen*, 24-35; P. Dalton, 'In Neutro Letere: The Armed Neutrality of Ranulf II Earl of Chester in King Stephen's Reign', *ANS*, XIV (1991), 58-59.

⁴²⁰ Davies, *King Stephen*, 24-35

⁴²¹ Eales, 'Local Loyalties in Norman England', 89; Sayles, *The Medieval Foundation of England*, 313.

⁴²² C. W. Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), 50; E. King, 'The Anarchy of King Stephen Reign', *TRHS*, XXXIV (1984), 135

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 152.

The Lower Nobility and the Merchants

During the same period, the lower nobility also gained some power and wealth as vassals of the great landlords. They gained and lost wealth as land changed hands in the ongoing struggle, especially in the Midlands where most of the battles and skirmishes of the civil war took place. However in the south west and south-east, Stephen's reign was perhaps more peaceful than in other areas, so lower noble families managed to gain a substantial amount of wealth from the exploitation of the land and were more able financially to take part in foreign expeditions to Iberia or to the Holy Land as part of the crusades, using their own wealth as opposed to being part of the retinue of a greater lord on his way to the Holy Land.⁴²⁴

A well-known account, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, provides the names of some leaders of the crusade. These included Harvey of Glanville, related to a lower ranking aristocratic family, who possessed lands in East Anglia. In Harvey's case, we find that unlike his Norman predecessors' involvement in Iberia, he came from England and was not part of the retinue of a more powerful aristocrat who took him there.⁴²⁵ It seems logical that these small land-owners who seem to have been able to travel to the Holy Land without the financial support of their larger and wealthier overlords, did so through the less popular but cheaper sea route. However, it is also likely that for these small landlords, the crusade was still beyond their regular financial means and they were forced to sell some of their property or use the booty

⁴²⁴ Eales, 'Local Loyalties in Norman England', 92-93; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 32-33; Graboïs, 'Anglo-Norman England and the Crusades', 132-137.

⁴²⁵ *DEL*, 52-56.

they had collected during skirmishes in the local conflict in England to pay for the expenses of the trip. Their relative poverty made them inclined to have some kind of contractual relation with the merchants of London similar to those held between the crusaders and the Venetians on the eve of the Fourth Crusade.⁴²⁶ However much of the evidence for these hypotheses is lacking. Documents relating directly to the leading figure in the expedition are very sparse and can seldom give an insight into their personal finances.

Harvey of Glanville was the leader of the East Anglian contingent in the Lisbon expedition. From the lack of documentary sources about his life and his relationship with the other Glanvilles in East Anglia, we might assume that whilst he was perhaps important and influential among the small landowners of his region he was not a powerful lord who could pay a full retinue of armoured knights to go with him to Iberia. However, there are a few documents which predate his departure for Spain. Two of these show him as a witness to Stephen's charters, which suggest that at least for a time he was a loyal subject to the king in the years before the crusade.⁴²⁷ Perhaps his leadership, just as it is implied in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, was achieved as part of a process of election based perhaps on his personal prestige among his peers.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁶ Villehardouin, 'The Conquest of Constantinople', in *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. M. R. B. Shaw (London, 1976), 33-35.

⁴²⁷ *Testibus Adema de Belnaco et Harveo Glanvilla. Blythburgh Priory Cartulary Part One*, II, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1980), doc. 44; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1962), doc. 381.

⁴²⁸ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* does not explain how the English constables were chosen among their peers. One might assume that some kind of primitive electoral system might have occurred or a compromise might have been reached between the leading figures of the expedition, as is made explicit in the *Annals of Floridus Hortus* which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter and which describes a similar expedition over century later.

However, Harvey was not the only small landowner of whom there is record in *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* of having taken part in one of the campaigns of the Second Crusade in Iberia. Another is Saher of Archell whose career can be traced back to Lincoln, an area hit by the civil war of Stephen's reign.⁴²⁹ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* mentions him as the only leading figure from the Anglo-Norman contingents to be a lord. As such, his contribution in this expedition could be seen as an example of a strategy commonly used by vassals to avoid their due military service to their overlord which involved taking a crusading or a pilgrimage vow to a foreign land. Saher's military obligations in England were perhaps in conflict with his own interest or his own beliefs.⁴³⁰ This motivation was not completely alien to many vassals throughout the Middle Ages. This was recognised as one of the main reasons for the contribution in the Second Crusade by the contemporary German chronicler of the *Annals Herbipolenses* who commented about crusaders: ... *ubi oportunum videretur dimicaturi pro pauperitate relevandas alii qui premebantur ere alieno, vel qui debita dominorum cogitabant relinquere servitia*.⁴³¹

Details of other Englishmen in the Iberian campaigns of the Second Crusade have also survived in documents relating to the granting of lands

DEL, 54-57; Emon of Floridus Hortus, 'Annals', ed. J. Ferreiro Almparte, in *Arribadas de normandos y cruzados a las costas de la península ibérica* (Madrid, 1999), 95.

⁴²⁹ DEL, 57 n. 3.

⁴³⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 10-17; P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. M. Jones (Oxford, 1990), 77-90; Eales, 'Local Loyalties in Norma England', 90-95.

⁴³¹ *Annales Herbipolenses*, in *Monumenta Germiæ Historica*, XVI (Stuttgart, 1963), 3.

made after the conquest of Tortosa.⁴³² The most notable of them, because of the abundance of documentary sources about them, are 'Gilbert', 'Osbert', and 'Jordan'.⁴³³ Unfortunately because of the cryptic form of the names of these Englishmen who appear mostly with the surname of *Anglici* or *Angles*, it is hard to identify exactly their place of origin in England. However, there are two groups of English in Tortosa whose surnames *Savigne* and *Caron* seem to link them directly with East Anglia, which implies that some other participants were also from this area.⁴³⁴ It is likely that those involved on the Lisbon campaign and the Tortosa campaign were members of the same expedition, since there is no mention of the formation of a crusading expedition in England except for those who went to Lisbon.⁴³⁵ Germanic sources also confirm that many of the Lisbon campaign's active players continued on their way to Jerusalem after the fall of this city.⁴³⁶

During the reign of Stephen, London saw the rise of great trading families.⁴³⁷ The city elders used their growing wealth as a way to increase their political power.⁴³⁸ However, the historical records for London during this period are relatively sparse and it has been difficult for historians to get a clear vision of the period in relation to the merchants.⁴³⁹ However, London, as one of the many port cities of mid-twelfth century Europe, saw a rise of trade with

⁴³² Appendix: doc. 34.

⁴³³ See Appendix Index for a comprehensive list of the Anglo-Norman settlers in Tortosa and the surviving evidence for their lives in the city and its territory.

⁴³⁴ L. C. Loyd, *The Origin of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. C.T. Clay and D.C. Douglas (Leeds, 1951), 25, 95.

⁴³⁵ Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', 525-526

⁴³⁶ Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, Saint Bernard and the Second Crusade', 67.

⁴³⁷ J. H. Round, *The Commune of London* (Westminster, 1899), 97.

⁴³⁸ H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans* (Oxford, 2003), 181-199; E. King, 'Economic development in early twelfth century', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*, ed. R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), 1-22

⁴³⁹ W. Page, *London, its Origin and Early Development* (London, 1929), 84-96.

the continent that allowed a small elite of the city organised increasingly in trading guilds to expand their wealth in a lucrative fashion.⁴⁴⁰ In an age when noble families were fighting each other in a period of disintegration of the monarchy, these newly rich saw an opportunity to increase their power by financing the aristocracy and give support to one side in order to increase their political status. They played a pivotal role in Stephen's rise to power by claiming that they had sought to elect a new monarch when the previous one had not left a clear successor. This refers to the time Stephen came to England and was chosen as king by the Londoners (1136).⁴⁴¹ However, they also played an important role following the brief victory in which Matilda managed to capture Stephen at the Battle of Lincoln. During this time, they negotiated to allow Matilda to be elevated to the title of Lady of England. However, they were also responsible for ejecting her from the city of London when she refused to accept their requests, according to the *Gesta Stephani*.⁴⁴²

One of the families rising to prominence during this period was the Buccuinte (of Italian origin) who managed to gain considerable wealth. One of its members, Andrew, was identified by Round as the likeliest candidate for the 'Andrew of London' mentioned in *De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi* as leader of the London contingent.⁴⁴³ For these trading families, the conquest of ports in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean was probably of economic interest and

⁴⁴⁰ S. E. Prall and D.H. Wilson, *A History of England*, I (Chicago, 1991), 132-136; G. A. Williams, *Medieval London from Commune to Capital* (London, 1963), 2-3.

⁴⁴¹ GS, 7.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 79-81; Page, *London*, 90-91.

⁴⁴³ Round, *The Commune of London*, 110; DEL, 56-57.

they would have been attracted to the crusading venture.⁴⁴⁴ The acquisition of trading outpost in the frontiers of Christendom would have given the mercantile families of the ports of England contact with the Muslim world allowing them to acquire goods unavailable in western Europe. It is likely that as a result of the pilgrimage routes to the Holy Land, trade and commerce with the Mediterranean was starting to become part of the local economy of London, and the acquisition of trading posts there would have increase the amount of commerce with Christian and Muslims alike.⁴⁴⁵ Although it does not seem likely that the Lisbon and Tortosa campaigns were premeditated, at least from the point of view of the Anglo-Normans involved, the idea of their conquest on the way to the Holy Land would not have been totally contrary to their economic interests. Although Phillips has made a case for the likelihood that crusaders from Low Countries might have been planning to aid the Portuguese monarch in his campaign against Lisbon from the start of their voyage, his argument does not seem to apply to the Anglo-Norman contingents.⁴⁴⁶ Moreover, if Round's assumption is right, Andrew Buccuinte's small fortune could have been an important source of finance for the English expedition.⁴⁴⁷ However, Round's argument is extremely circumstantial and difficult to prove either way.

The Promulgation of the Second Crusade

According to Michael of Syria, an important Armenian chronicler of the crusades, Zenghi, the Turkish emir of Mosul and Aleppo lured Count Josselin

⁴⁴⁴ King, 'Economic development in the early twelfth century', 5-21.

⁴⁴⁵ Williams, *Medieval London*, 9.

⁴⁴⁶ J. Phillips, 'Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *JEH*, XLVIII (1997), 485-497.

⁴⁴⁷ Round, *The Commune of London*, 110.

of Edessa out of the city by creating a diversion and, knowing that the city was without its guardian, besieged it.⁴⁴⁸ Without the protection of the Frankish garrison the citizens had resorted to defending the city themselves from attack. This city, which had been the first of the great holy cities to fall to the Christians in the First Crusade, was the first one to return to the Muslims in 1144. Despite the heroic leadership of the archbishop, as described by Michael of Syria, the Christians could not hold back the Muslim onslaught, which managed to bring down a part of the wall.⁴⁴⁹ The fall of Edessa did not cause an immediate reaction in the west apart from a papal bull proclaimed by Eugenius III, which at first failed to attract much attention from the nobility.⁴⁵⁰ However, gradually the urgency of the situation in the Holy Land started to become more apparent and Louis VII was attracted to the idea of taking the cross and travelling to the Holy Land,⁴⁵¹ convinced by the many embassies sent from the Holy Land telling him about the urgency of the situation. When the nobles and bishops of his kingdom did not give open support for his plans for a crusade, the king summoned Bernard of Clairvaux, who was the main leader of the Cistercian movement, the most prominent monastic movement of this period.⁴⁵² Bernard was clearly the most able cleric to take on the task of promulgating the crusade across western Europe, having been the tutor of Eugenius III and he was influential enough to encourage the pope to re-issue the crusading bull..⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁸ Michael of Syria, 'Chronicle', 119.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁵⁰ Eugenius III, 'Quantum prædecessores', in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. E. Hallam (Godalming, 1997), 121-122; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 94.

⁴⁵¹ Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades*, 54; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: II The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London, 1990), 251-252.

⁴⁵² Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 94-95.

⁴⁵³ J. Richard, *The Crusades c. 1071-1291*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1999), 157.

Bernard had also been instrumental in formalising of the order of the Temple as a religious order before the Second Crusade. The formation of the military orders is an area of crusading historiography that has been much-researched in recent decades.⁴⁵⁴ Bernard's arguments for the existence of the Temple, could easily be transformed and extended to promulgate a crusading appeal in western Europe. Bernard's main area of influence was France, where Louis VII had originally conceived the expedition. Bernard gave speeches which gained him a large following among the French nobility and even among the ordinary laity, as had occurred in the First Crusade. Bernard argued that God was giving his faithful Christian sinners an opportunity to redeem themselves by doing his will through the expedition, which was being planned by the pope and the monarchs of France and Germany, but which was ordained by God.⁴⁵⁵ The theological arguments which accompanied the great theatrical spectacle of taking the crusading vow seemed to have been a very strong form of propaganda in twelfth-century society. Bernard also travelled to Germany where he managed to convince King Conrad III to take part in this crusading venture.⁴⁵⁶ However, although Bernard's arguments were mostly based on the idea of the Holy Land as the aim of the crusade, it seems that the expedition was also being preached as a frontal assault on the heathen in three regions: the Holy Land, Baltic lands and Spain.⁴⁵⁷ This was of great importance since although Bernard never went to England, his message

⁴⁵⁴ See. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood* (Cambridge, 1994), 1-63; D. Seward, *The Monks at War* (London, 1995), 1-13; H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights* (Leicester, 1993), 1-5, 15-21.

⁴⁵⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 95; Phillips, *The Crusades*, 66-67.

⁴⁵⁶ Richard, *The Crusades*, 158; Phillips, *The Crusades*, 67.

⁴⁵⁷ Otto of Freising, 'Chronicle', in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. E. Hallam (Godalming, 1997), 125; Phillips, *The Crusades*, 67; Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades*, 58.

seemed to have arrived there soon enough to produce a number of crusaders from both the upper and lower nobility.⁴⁵⁸ He addressed the English directly in a letter, which exhorted the nobility to put aside their quarrels and to concentrate their energies on the holy duty of safeguarding Christ's patrimony in the Holy land. A copy of this letter survives.⁴⁵⁹ Its language does not particularly address the English except for the first line of its text. It uses vague language that could have been used to address the noble classes of any European country. It is likely, however, that copies of this letter, or an other analogous to it, were known in England and were circulated among the clergy. Maybe the mysterious preacher who wrote the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonenesi* had come into contact with this letter or one of its kind.

However, as stated above, the crusaders who were involved in the Iberian campaigns came from the lower ranks of the nobility and the merchant classes, while members of the upper nobility travelled to France to join with the eastern crusade led by Louis VII.⁴⁶⁰ The appeal of Bernard to the Germans and Flemish to play a part in the crusade in the western theatre might have motivated the English merchants to join, since the English traded with those regions preached to directly by Bernard. Contemporary English chronicles do mention an English contribution to the crusade but do not clarify how the preaching of the crusade was done in England.⁴⁶¹ However, Bernard's dramatic letters seem to have been well-known in England before the crusade, even though his appeal was directed towards a military venture against the

⁴⁵⁸ GS, 127: HA, 750-752.

⁴⁵⁹ BNF, Fond latin, Ms. 14845, f. 257 (pub. in: *The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. B. S. James (London, 1953), 460-463).

⁴⁶⁰ DEL, 52-57; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 32.

⁴⁶¹ GS, 127: HA, 750-754.

Holy Land. Even if he was not proclaiming a crusade against the Moors in Spain, it is likely that his message was interpreted in England as an assault on all fronts against the enemies of Christendom. Phillips has argued that Bernard was in contact with the Portuguese and he might have inspired the crusaders who were planning to go by the sea route to the Holy Land to stop over in Portugal to aid Afonso Henriques.⁴⁶² This would explain the fact that the Portuguese monarch had left the bishop of Porto waiting for their arrival. In addition his fame most probably helped to increase the involvement of those who took the cross in England especially in this period of great peril for the country because of the nature of the situation in Stephen's England.⁴⁶³

The Promulgation of crusading indulgences In Spain

As discussed in Chapter two, Iberian crusading ventures were normally planned by the secular powers of the peninsula instead of the church. The church, however, decided whether each particular expedition had the benefits of a crusading venture, based on the political circumstances of the time, a factor that has made some historians apprehensive of using the term crusade to refer to the *Reconquista*.⁴⁶⁴ Therefore, the Iberian campaigns were similar in a way to the smaller crusades launched more or less as pilgrimages by the western European nobility between the First and Second Crusades and from the Second to the Third Crusade. They were in essence crusades because they usually had the support of the papacy, but they were not launched by it and the motivation of its participants was only partly religious.⁴⁶⁵ The Iberian

⁴⁶² Phillips, 'Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and the Lisbon Letter', 495-497.

⁴⁶³ C. Holdsworth, 'Saint Bernard and England', *ANS*, VIII (1985), 148-149.

⁴⁶⁴ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 63-65.

⁴⁶⁵ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 3-4; Lomax. *The Reconquest of Spain*, 101.

campaigns of the Second Crusade were in a way analogous. The Christian rulers of the peninsula, to whom the conquest of the ports of Lisbon, Almeria and Tortosa was strategically important for their respective kingdoms, probably conceived these campaigns.⁴⁶⁶ However, perhaps knowing the usefulness of crusading status as a way of encouraging involvement, not only at home but from abroad, the Iberian monarchs appealed for the pope's support.⁴⁶⁷ It is likely that they knew of the events in Edessa and the planned crusade to the east and with this in mind, saw it as an opportunity to enlarge their territories using the crusading appeal that was going to rise across western Europe. However, the three campaigns of the reconquest in 1147 received different forms of approval after the first crusading appeal was launched.

The Crusade of Lisbon

The involvement of Anglo-Normans in the conquest of Lisbon was by far the largest of all the Anglo-Norman contributions to the Iberian reconquest. It is also the best documented of the expeditions led by Normans or Anglo-Normans into the Iberian peninsula as part of the *Reconquista*, especially with regard to narrative sources.⁴⁶⁸ However, to understand how this event fits

⁴⁶⁶ Lomax. *The Reconquest of Spain*, 91-93; Brachado, *A conquista de Lisboa aos mouros*, 10-12; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 83-84; Barton, 'Traitors of the Faith?' 35.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 71; *La chronique de Saint-Maixent*, 188.

⁴⁶⁸ *DEL*, 50-185; Livermore, 'The conquest of Lisbon and its Author', 1-16; 'História dos Godos', in *Fontes Medievais da História de Portugal*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon, 1948), 22-47; 'A conquista de Santarém', in *Fontes Medievais da História de Portugal*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon, 1960), 93-106; 'A conquista de Lisboa: Carta do cruzado inglês', in *Fontes Medievais da História de Portugal*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon, 1960), 107-123; 'A carta de Duodechino', in *Fontes Medievais da História de Portugal*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon, 1960), 124-130; 'Relatório Anónimo', in *Fontes Medievais da História de Portugal*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon, 1960), 131-132; 'Carta de Arnulfo', in *Fontes Medievais da História de Portugal*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon,

within the history of Portugal and of the Iberian *Reconquista* one must look at the formation of the county of Portugal and how it was transformed from being a small region of the empire of Leon into one of the leading kingdoms in the process of reconquest in the twelfth century. This section will also explore how the relationships between the newly-formed kingdom of Portugal and the papacy helped to introduce the involvement of foreign crusaders in the conquest of perhaps the most important city of the kingdom from the hands of the Moors. This section will also evaluate the documentary and literary sources which have shaped the historiography and historical narrative of the events of the conquest of the city. Lastly, the origins of the main Anglo-Normans in this expedition will be explored, the factors that might have brought them into Lisbon and finally how many of them actually settled there.

The county of Portugal, a region which stretched south towards the Duero, appeared originally as a region ruled by counts in the Visigothic tradition, chosen by the king of Leon. This was an area of continuous skirmishes between the Muslims and Christians until 1095, when Alfonso VI of Castile-Leon decided to incorporate it more solidly within his own domain by giving it as a fiefdom to his illegitimate daughter Teresa and her husband, Henry of Burgundy.⁴⁶⁹ In the long run, this decision had the opposite effect because when Alfonso VI died in 1109 his realm was soon divided among the

1960), 133-140; 'Crónica de fundação do mosteiro de São Vicente', in *Fontes Medievais da História de Portugal*, ed. A. Pimenta (Lisbon, 1960), 141-146; L. Gonzaga de Azevedo, *História de Portugal*, I (Lisbon, 1942), 238-265; Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders of 1147', 525-526; Constable, 'A further note on the Conquest of Lisbon', 39-44.

⁴⁶⁹ A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, I (New York, 1972), 34-38; Livermore, *A History of Portugal*, 61-62; *História de Portugal Edição Monumental*, II, 17-18; A. Sérgio, *Breve Interpretação de história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1981), 13; B. F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VI* (Princeton, 1988), 253-256.

supporters of his daughter Urraca and those of Alfonso I of Aragon.⁴⁷⁰ He had married Urraca as part of a plan by Alfonso VI to disinherit his grandson, the future Alfonso VII, born of the first marriage of Urraca and Raymond.⁴⁷¹ The marriage created a union between the crowns of Leon and Castile and that of Aragon and Navarre.⁴⁷² It seems that Alfonso VI was aiming to fortify the position of the Christians by unifying most of their Iberian peoples under a single ruler who could perhaps, in the eyes of his contemporaries restore the Visigothic kingdom to its former glory.⁴⁷³ Moreover, Count Henry of Portugal used this situation of disintegration of the Castilian-Leonese crown to his advantage. Seeing these circumstances as they were, he tried to increase his power and independence within the county of Portugal by declaring himself neutral at times or by only joining the side that looked strongest at other times until his death in 1112.⁴⁷⁴

When her husband died Countess Teresa took control of the county and tried to increase her power by conquering Galicia.⁴⁷⁵ With this in mind, she married a Galician nobleman Count Fernão Peres de Trava, who created great distrust among the Portuguese frontier nobility. The nobility were fearful that the Galician count would take control of the county.⁴⁷⁶ At this point her son Afonso Henriques, aware of the unpopularity of the policies of his mother and fearing that he might be disinherited as his cousin Alfonso VII had been,

⁴⁷⁰ Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, I, 38-39.

⁴⁷¹ P. Linehan, 'Spain in the Twelfth century', *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, ii, eds. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 475-478.

⁴⁷² *SJP*, 29.

⁴⁷³ Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VI*, 356-358.

⁴⁷⁴ J. H. Saraiva, *Portugal: A Companion History* (Manchester, 1997), 13; 'História dos Godos', 25.

⁴⁷⁵ Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el batallador*, 55.

⁴⁷⁶ Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, I, 39.

became the leading opponent of his mother's policies. In the battle of São Mamede in 1128, Afonso Henriques managed to defeat his mother's supporters forcing her to abdicate.⁴⁷⁷ After this episode he became the true ruler of Portugal with support from the local nobility. By the date he had taken power, the civil war in Castile-Leon had subsided. In an analogous fashion to Portugal, Alfonso Raimundez VII had managed to take control of the Castilian-Leonese kingdom by gradually reducing his mother's power and making peace with Alfonso I of Aragon.⁴⁷⁸

Afonso Henriques was not only interested in total independence from Leon but he also wanted to extend his territorial domain at the expense of Leon. He soon revived his mother's dubious claims over Galicia and attempted to acquire it by force. However, his military ventures against Leon were not very successful and after fourteen years of rebellion, Afonso Henriques I performed homage under a concord treaty signed in 1143. The king of Portugal and the emperor of Leon met in Zamora under the arbitration of Cardinal Guido da Vico.⁴⁷⁹ An exact description of what was agreed during this meeting does not exist. However, it seems that the emperor finally recognised Afonso Henriques as king of Portugal. Despite this, it seems that Alfonso VII recognised Afonso Henriques as king only because this was not, in his view, adverse to the union of Portugal within the empire of Leon, since Alfonso VII had other kings under his overlordship (Navarre and Aragon). Moreover, this recognition of the royal title only seems to have increased

⁴⁷⁷ Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, I, 39.

⁴⁷⁸ *SJP*, 30.

⁴⁷⁹ M. Recuero Astray, 'El imperio de Alfonso VII', in *Historia general de España y América: La España de los cinco reinos*, IV (Madrid, 1984), 469.

Alfonso VII's prestige as an emperor of Spain.⁴⁸⁰ The pope knew the conundrum of Portugal's independence was a reason for some of the disputes among Christians in the peninsula, when he was trying to create Christian unity against the Muslims.⁴⁸¹

Portugal and the *Reconquista*

While Afonso Henriques unsuccessfully attempted to conquer Galicia, in several attempts, he also started to expand his southern frontier at the expense of the Taifa kingdoms of Lisbon and Badajoz.⁴⁸² Unlike the empire of Leon which, after the disputes with Alfonso I of Aragon had been solved, was relatively stable, al-Andalus was in a period of disintegration as the Almoravids had started to loose control as a unifying force among the Moors in the peninsula. By the third decade of the twelfth century the Almoravids, who had once managed to threaten the expansion of the Christians in the peninsula, were already losing power, and by the mid-twelfth century the Almohads, a new religious group in northern Africa were destroying the Almoravid Empire from within.⁴⁸³ The Almoravids had already lost Saragossa to Alfonso I, as noted in the previous chapter, and were beginning to lose control of the Muslim population in al-Andalus, which was becoming dissatisfied with their rule. In this period of decline, the Almohads who represented the last religious

⁴⁸⁰ CAI, 37.

⁴⁸¹ J. Mattoso, 'Il Portugal: Capítulo I- Portugal de condado a reino bajo Alfonso Enríquez', in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal: La reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política*, IX, M. A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1998), 563.

⁴⁸² Sérgio, *Breve interpretação da história de Portugal*, 14.

⁴⁸³ Ibid Tumert. 'The Rise of the Almohads', trans. J. A. Williams, in *Medieval Iberia, Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. O. R. Constable (Philadelphia, 1997), 185-197; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 182-183.

revival of al-Andalus before the Christian conquests of the thirteenth century, managed to create a new unifying force for the Muslims of the peninsula.

The Almohads originated in Morocco and were able to dismantle the Almoravid Empire relatively easily.⁴⁸⁴ The decline of the Almoravids represented an opportunity for conquest not only for Alfonso I of Aragon, but for Afonso Henriques of Portugal, who grasped this and started expanding his rule southwards. Like Alfonso of Aragon he was going to use the crusading fervour of the northern Europeans to further his ambition for land and gain prestige himself in the eyes of the Christian world and, most important for his political ambitions, those of the papacy.

The parallels with Alfonso the Battler do not end there. Like his Aragonese contemporary Afonso Henriques also saw the importance of the military orders in the process of reconquest and as a force that could be used to secure his southern border against the Muslims. Like Alfonso I of Aragon and Stephen in England, Afonso Henriques was prepared to give the emerging military order possession of castles and estates.⁴⁸⁵ In 1128 he bestowed on the Order of the Temple the responsibility of protecting Coimbra. Even though at this date the order was too weak to be of any use in any offensive, Afonso saw the potential that the military orders could offer including foreign capital and manpower to protect his ever-expanding realm from counterattacks by the Moors.⁴⁸⁶ However, the position of a Templar

⁴⁸⁴ J. Mastre i Campi and F. Sabaté, *Atlas de la Reconquista* (Barcelona, 1998), 34-37.

⁴⁸⁵ Ladero Quesada, 'El imperio de Alfonso VII', *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, IX, 407.

⁴⁸⁶ Forey, *The Military Orders*, 23-24; Peres and Cardeira, *Historia de Portugal*, 19.

outpost in Portugal augmented the interest of the Order and of other orders that received grants from Afonso Henriques in the decades that followed on the frontier. Moreover, in the following decades the Templars played an important role supporting Afonso Henriques in his campaigns against the Muslims and assisted in the conquests of Santárem and Lisbon. Afonso Henriques' first victory, which he used to galvanise his self-image as crusader king, was the Battle of Ourique in 1139. However, this victory seems to have been rather minor in scale and it was not until the following decade that Afonso began to attempt to conquer new territories from the Muslims with foreign aid.⁴⁸⁷

The First Anglo-Norman Intervention in the *Reconquista* in Portugal

In 1140 or 1142 an English fleet was invited by Afonso Henriques to help him conquer the city of Lisbon.⁴⁸⁸ This early attempt to take the city is referred to in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, but without much detail. The best description of the attack is in the Chronicle of *Dos Godos* which states:

Eodem quoque tempore uenerunt quedam naues exinsperato de partibus Galliarum, plene armatis uiris uotum habentes ire in Jerusalem, cumque uenissent ad Portum Gaye et intrassent Dorium, audiuit hec Rex, et gauisus est cum eis, erant enim fere septuaginta, et pace initus cum eis ut irent ad Ulixbonam ipse per mare et ipse cum exercitu suo per terram, et obsiderent eam, forsitan placeret Domino ut traderet eam in manibus eorum. Conuentione itaque facta, illi per mare, et Rex per Terram cum exercitu suo uenerunt undique ad Ullixbonam, et circumderunt et

⁴⁸⁷ Mastre i Campi and Sabaté, *Atlas de la Reconquista*, 30-31.

⁴⁸⁸ Livermore, *History of Portugal*, 71-72.

*oppugnauerunt eam, sed non potuerunt aduersus eam, quia nundum aduenerat tempus ut traderunt in manibus Christianorum, sed irruerunt suburbana eius, et demoliti sunt multas uineas, et succederunt domos, et fecerunt plagam magnam in terra. Videntis itaque quod non cito, nec per multum temporis spatium non posset capi, etiam si quotidie foret obsessa, quoniam erat multum referta, et populosa, et tunc satis abundabat omnibus bonis, reliquerunt eam. Rex cum exercitu suo regressus est in terram suam et illi marini naute abierunt uiam suam, quod tenebant ire in Jerusalem.*⁴⁸⁹

The *Gallii*, whom the *Chronicle of Dos Godos* mentions, were perhaps a similar mixed-group of Franks, Anglo-Normans and Flemish who were involved in this expedition on their way to the Holy Land. From the description in this chronicle, in this expedition the Anglo-Normans were perhaps on a warring pilgrimage, in the same way that the English contingents that had helped the First Crusade.⁴⁹⁰ However, because of the date (1140/42) these piratical pilgrimages, which according to *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* were led by a certain William Vitalus, were not part of a larger crusading expedition nor a response to any crusading appeal.⁴⁹¹ They were more likely a smaller expedition to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land, whose leaders were tempted by the Portuguese to take part in this failed siege. However, because of their small number and their desire for easy bounty, they could not sustain the large siege that was needed to conquer a city like Lisbon.⁴⁹² Although they were able to destroy the countryside around the city they were unable to take

⁴⁸⁹ 'História dos Godos', 35-36.

⁴⁹⁰ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 19-20.

⁴⁹¹ France, *The Crusades*, 134.

⁴⁹² *DEL*, 101-102.

it.⁴⁹³ It was this failure that created the great distrust felt by the Anglo-Normans in relation to Afonso Henriques who had underestimated the ability of Lisbon to resist his assault, or was too distracted by his disputes with Alfonso VII of Castile-Leon to be fully committed to this expedition at the time.⁴⁹⁴ It is important; however, to take into account that a number of the participants in the later sieges of Lisbon and Tortosa may have taken part in this earlier attempt on Lisbon. Moreover, these pirate-like raiders under the crusader banner were able to gain more financial backing from the church and greater following from members of the military classes to attempt to take bigger prizes. However, perhaps because this early attempt to take Lisbon did not possess the backing of the clerical and lay powers that the 1147 attempt had, success was much harder to achieve. It also seems likely that Afonso Henriques may have been testing the ground to see how difficult it would be to take Lisbon and had never expected to take the city, but instead had used the possibility of a victory to entice this group of crusaders.

Following the failed attempt to take Lisbon in 1142 and the more careful attempt to take it for the second time in 1147, there was a period of frequent skirmishes in Portugal as well as in other parts of the peninsula where both sides launched summer raids against their enemies' territories.⁴⁹⁵ In Portugal, most of these raids were apparently carried out by Afonso Henriques and his vassals. According to the Chronicle of *Dos Godos*, the raids forced the rulers of the Moorish territories south of the Portuguese county to submit to a system

⁴⁹³ 'História dos Godos', 35-36.

⁴⁹⁴ Livermore, *A History of Portugal*, 63.

⁴⁹⁵ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 79-80.

of *Parias* analogous to those the Aragonese, Leonese and Barcelonese had imposed on the Moors in the eleventh century.⁴⁹⁶ However, in 1147 a few months before the conquest of Lisbon, Afonso Henriques may have been planning the final conquest. Learning from his previous mistakes, he attacked Santarém using a sneak attack and managed to force his small army of knights and some Templars into the city.⁴⁹⁷ Santarém had more lasting consequences for the Portuguese reconquest than any of the other minor raids that had taken place before and perhaps even more than the battle of Ourique, for it closed the water route of the river Tagus to Lisbon. This action brought the Portuguese frontier as far south as that of the kingdom of Leon (Toledo had been in Leonese hands since 1086).⁴⁹⁸ This certainly increased Afonso Henriques' prestige within the peninsula and gave him a supply route on the river Tagus for the coming siege of Lisbon. (See map 5)

Evaluation of the Sources for the Conquest and Settlement of Lisbon

The conquest of Lisbon is the best documented of the three great Iberian campaigns of the Second Crusade in Iberia (Almeria, Lisbon and Tortosa), at least in the narrative sources. The most detailed account of the siege and conquest is *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, which was written by an Anglo-Norman priest who was present in the campaign.⁴⁹⁹ There is also a collection of letters written by some Germans on the expedition, which

⁴⁹⁶ 'História dos Godos', 36-40; Mastre i Campi and Sabaté, *Atlas de La Reconquista*, 30-31.

⁴⁹⁷ 'A conquista de Santarém', 94-106.

⁴⁹⁸ F. de Almeida, *História de Portugal*, I (Coimbra, 1922), 150-154; Brachado, *A conquista de Lisboa aos mouros*, 11-12.

⁴⁹⁸ *DEL*, 40-46.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibidem*; David, 'The Authorship of the Expugnatione Lyxbonensi', 50-57; Livermore, 'The conquest of Lisbon and its Author', 1-16.

confirmed many of the claims of the English source. These are the letters of Deudochin, Arnulf and Winard.⁵⁰⁰ Although there are such detailed accounts of the northern European crusaders' role in the expedition, the Portuguese and Iberian narrative sources are not as detailed. The Portuguese sources of most importance are *The chronicle of the foundation of the monastery of São Vicente*, the Chronicle of *Dos Godos* and *Relatio de translatione Sancti Vicentii martyris*.⁵⁰¹ Documentary sources are almost non-existent, with the exception of a few charters from the religious communities of Sancti Vicent.⁵⁰² Apart from these, there are also brief mentions of the expedition by other chroniclers in England, Germany and Spain, who interpreted the success of the Lisbon expedition in a different light in comparison with the failure of the Second Crusade in the Holy Land.⁵⁰³

De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi, being the most detailed account of the conquest and coincidentally being also the main source for the Norman and Anglo-Norman input in Iberia, has to be evaluated first. In this thesis I have used the modern edition and translation of the chronicle by C. W. David, which has recently been re-edited with a summary of the latest research on the subject by Phillips. The author of this chronicle was not identified by David, but since his original publication in 1936, Livermore has produced a name which has been readily accepted by Phillips as the author of the chronicle, a certain

⁵⁰⁰ 'A conquista de Lisboa', 124-140.

⁵⁰¹ 'Crónica de fundação do mosteiro de S. Vicente', 140-146; G. de Azevedo, *Historia de Portugal*, IV (Lisbon, 1942), 238-265; G. Constable, 'A Further Note on the Conquest of Lisbon in 1147', in *The Experience of Crusading*, I, eds. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), 39-44.

⁵⁰² M. J. Branco, 'A conquista de Lisboa revisitada', *Arqueologia Medieval*, VII (1997), 217-218.

⁵⁰³ HA, 737-739; GS, 127; Helmondi Presbyteri, *Cronica slavorum ex recensione I. M. Lappenbergii* (Hanover, 1868), 121-122.

Raol.⁵⁰⁴ However, the arguments used by Livermore are very circumstantial and therefore it is difficult for me to accept that the 'R.' mentioned at the beginning of *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* is the English crusader with the name of Raol who appears in the Portuguese charter that Livermore found in the archive of the Torre do Tombo.⁵⁰⁵ Even if Livermore's claim is right, it changes little of what David had already gathered from the chronicle itself. The author's knowledge of biblical passages and his use of theological arguments heavily influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux, put into the mouth of the bishop of Porto, have led most historians since the nineteenth century to believe that the author was a priest. Livermore suggests that Raol had been specifically sent by Bernard.⁵⁰⁶ What is clear is that the author was an Anglo-Norman priest, probably part of the retinue of Harvey Glanville or close to him, and active in the military preparations for the siege.⁵⁰⁷ His eyewitness perspective is very reliable for the details of the expedition. However, his favouritism towards the Anglo-Normans is clear in the narrative, while some of his geographical knowledge is dubious.⁵⁰⁸ Despite his partiality with regards to Harvey Glanville and his followers, most of his details about the siege can be confirmed by the Germanic sources and in a more general sense by the Portuguese as well.

⁵⁰⁴ *DEL*, 40-46; David, 'The Authorship of the *Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*', 50-57; Livermore, 'the Conquest of Lisbon and its Author', 16.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁰⁶ Livermore, 'the Conquest of Lisbon and its Author', 16.

⁵⁰⁷ *DEL*, 40-46.

⁵⁰⁸ For example the author places the Balearic Island north of Portugal. *DEL*, 66-67; Felicidade Alves ed., *Conquista de Lisboa*, 10-12.

The Germanic sources consist of three letters: those of Duodechin, Arnulf and Winand.⁵⁰⁹ All three have been recently edited and translated into English by Edgington.⁵¹⁰ According to Edgington all three were based on a letter written by Winand to Arnold, archbishop of Cologne.⁵¹¹ The narration of these letters is not as detailed as *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, but they contain some information, such as the position of the armies from the different nationalities around the city of Lisbon during the siege, which support the English source. At the same time, the German letters are brief in comparison with *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. Although the Germanic sources are of great importance they tell us little about the composition of the Anglo-Norman contingent. But they can be useful in placing the Norman and Anglo-Norman involvement in the context of the crusading expedition, especially to emphasise that it was certainly not an English affair alone, but like the expedition to the East, it was made up of armies of several nationalities.

The Portuguese narrative sources are surprisingly brief in details on the conquest of the city, especially compared to the narratives which exist for the conquest of Santarem.⁵¹² The reason for this disparity in the interest of the contemporary Portuguese chroniclers is difficult to assess especially since Lisbon was clearly a bigger and more important city than Santarem and its conquest took much more manpower and resources. However, the fact that so many foreign troops had helped to conquer the city might have diminished in

⁵⁰⁹ 'A carta de Duodechino', 124-140; S. B. Edgington 'Albert of Aachen, Saint Bernard and the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade*, eds. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 61-67; J. da Felicidade Alves ed., *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1147* (Lisbon, 1989), 8-12.

⁵¹⁰ Ibidem.

⁵¹¹ Da Felicidade Alves ed., *Conquista de Lisboa*, 56.

⁵¹² 'A conquista de Santarém', 94-106.

the eyes of the Portuguese chroniclers the need to overemphasise the likely prominent role of the crusaders in comparison with the Portuguese in the siege. Nonetheless, the conquest of the city was too important to be completely overlooked by the chronicles. The most important Portuguese sources for the conquest of the city are: *The Chronicle of the foundation of the monastery of São Vicente*; *Relatio de translatione Sancti Vicentii martyris* and *The Chronicle of Dos Godos*.⁵¹³ *The Chronicles of the foundation of the monastery of São Vicente* and the *Relatio de translatione Sancti Vicentii martyris* have been recently edited and translated into English by Constable.⁵¹⁴ According to Constable, these two sources were written fairly soon after the conquest.

Although the *Relatio de translatione Sancti Vicentii martyris* has been called an imaginative romance, it seems to have been based on historical events. It was written between 1159 and 1180, which makes it reasonably close to the events. From its content it seems that the Portuguese author used a Flemish crusader as the source for his account of the conquest of Lisbon. The *Relatio's* narrative of the fall of Lisbon, is quite sensible and contains a very brief summary of the events of the conquest of the city by the crusaders.⁵¹⁵ It is important to notice that this source did not mention the Anglo-Normans as part of the contingent of crusaders, although it does give the route they took from northern Europe to arrive to Lisbon and comments on

⁵¹³ 'História dos Godos', 22-47; 'Pequenas crônicas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra', 55-77; Constable, 'A Further Note on the Conquest of Lisbon in 1147', 39-44.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 40.

⁵¹⁵ Constable, 'A Further Note on the Conquest of Lisbon in 1147', 40.

their original aim to go on to the Holy Land to support the bigger crusade launched by the kings of Germany and France.

The chronicle of the foundation of the monastery of San Vicente at Lisbon has also been edited and partially translated by Constable in reference to the siege of the city. This was written, Constable argues, around the year 1188 but was probably revised at a later date. This source is extremely important since unlike the *Relatio de translatione Sancti Vicentii martyris*, it is more interested in the role played by Afonso Henriques in the conquest of Lisbon, albeit not underestimating the part taken by the northern crusaders.⁵¹⁶ Moreover, this chronicle makes reference to the creation of two cemeteries in which the northern crusaders' bodies were placed after the fall of the city, mentioning the location of the English cemetery at the church of Saint Mary of the Martyrs. The account is important as it portrays the way in which the king granted land for the formation of religious communities made up at least partially from people who had come as part of the crusading expedition from northern Europe and, more importantly for the purpose of this thesis, from England and Normandy.

The chronicle of *Dos Godos*, although not considered by Constable to be an important source for the conquest of Lisbon (it was written in the thirteenth century by anonymous authors rather than a few decades after the event), is still a significant source, because it places the conquest of the city within the context of the political and military events of Afonso Henriques'

⁵¹⁶ Constable, 'A Further Note on the Conquest of Lisbon in 1147', 42.

reign.⁵¹⁷ However, the details given by this source are surprisingly few and might have been taken from either of the other two sources explored earlier. The chronicle of *Dos Godos* has been edited by several historians including Alexander Herculano, but in this thesis Pimenta's edition has been used since it is more recent.⁵¹⁸ The chronicle contains the only narration of the previous attempt by Afonso Henriques and the English crusaders to take Lisbon.⁵¹⁹

Archival records are almost non-existent, as has been shown by Branco who states: *Em termos de documentação, o estudo da Lisboa cristã nas suas três primeiras décadas após a conquista, coloca graves escolhos. A uma invulgar riqueza em testemunhos narrativas, uma desanimadora escassez de documentação «corrente» das instituições que nela se instalaram, bem como de documentação régia ou pontifícia que directamente a ela se refira.*⁵²⁰ Here lies the problem of trying to follow the Anglo-Norman settlers' fortunes after the conquest of the city. Since none of the narrative sources gives us a full description of the names of those who settled there apart from Bishop Gilbert of Hasting and the priest Raul that Livermore discovered in a charter in Lisbon.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ 'História dos Godos', 22-24.

⁵¹⁷ *DEL*, 101.

⁵¹⁸ 'História dos Godos', 35-36.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵¹⁹ *DEL*, 101.

⁵²⁰ Branco, 'A conquista de Lisboa revisada', 218.

⁵²¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Santa Cruz, Coimbra, No. 3, no. 18. (pub. in Livermore, 'the Conquest of Lisbon and its Author', 4-5).

The Anglo-Normans in the Lisbon campaign

As has been shown above, the conquest of Lisbon was far from being an enterprise made up solely of Normans and Anglo-Normans. However for the purpose of this thesis the focus will be on the Norman and Anglo-Norman participants since, although the Flemish and Germans might have played an important role in the whole expedition, this was by far the largest Anglo-Norman contribution in the Iberian *Reconquista* in the whole of the Middle Ages. It is for these reasons that I will use the sources available to try to discover why the Anglo-Normans took part in the conquest of Lisbon. It is important to explore why there was such a great Anglo-Norman and Norman involvement in Portugal in 1147 and how much of it had to do with the situation in England and Normandy. Moreover, I will also explore which of the Anglo-Normans actually stayed in Lisbon after its conquest.

As has been explained in the previous section, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux did not come to England and there is little evidence of any great appeal for the crusade in England, apart from Saint Bernard's letter to the English of 1146 and Pope Eugenius III's petition to Bishop Joscelin of Salisbury to give protection to the participants of crusade.⁵²² Moreover, in the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, the author claims that the bishop of Porto said to those present: 'without the cajoling of any preacher, with the zeal of the law of God in their hearts, led by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, they have left all and come hither to us, the sons of the primitive church, through so many perils

⁵²² Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 260-261; Holdsworth, 'Saint Bernard and England', 148-149.

of lands and seas and bearing the expenses of a long journey.⁵²³ This therefore suggests that the lack of any references to preaching in England immediately previous to the Second Crusade is because there was very little of it. Also from this text, one might be led to believe that there was not a clear policy of the Church to preach the crusade in England, as there was in France and Germany.⁵²⁴ This is also in accord with the other narrative sources of the period in England such as *Gesta Stephani* and the *Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon* which, although they mentioned the crusade they do not refer to any preaching of it in England.⁵²⁵ This raises the question of why was there such a large-scale involvement of Anglo-Normans in this expedition and how it was that the people of England came to know about the crusade and more importantly, why did they join this expedition at Dartmouth in the spring of 1147?

Although the Normans and the Anglo-Normans received only letters of appeal from Eugenius III and from Saint Bernard, it is clear from previous expeditions to Iberia, such as the failed attempt to conquer Lisbon in 1142 and from all other pirate-like expeditions led by men from southern England against ports in the Iberian peninsula, that people were well acquainted with the riches of Iberia. They did not require great encouragement to launch an expedition of this nature.⁵²⁶ Moreover, there was a history of successful aggregation of wealth, glory and crusading indulgences in the wars of reconquest by the many Normans who have been shown to have taken

⁵²³ DEL, 73.

⁵²⁴ Holdsworth, 'Saint Bernard and England', 148-149.

⁵²⁵ HA, 737-739; GS, 127.

⁵²⁶ 'História dos Godos', 35-36; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 32, 81; Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 63; Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 260-261.

part.⁵²⁷ However, the people who participated in the Lisbon and even in the Tortosa campaigns were not from the same caste as Rotrou of Perche or Robert Burdet or even Roger of Tosny. They were sailors, merchants and, perhaps, members of the lower nobility.⁵²⁸ Yet the desire for booty and wealth was not unlike that of the upper aristocracy, who had taken the opportunity of participating in the wars of reconquest in Iberia in earlier decades. The opportunity of settling down and gaining a base in such an important port as Lisbon must have been appealing both to the merchant classes of London, Southampton, Hastings, or Bristol as well as to the lower aristocracy of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Sussex, Devon or Hampshire. Of the English mentioned by *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (Simon of Dover, Harvey Glanville, Andrew of London, Saher of Archelle, Gerald of Hastings and William Vitalus) only Saher of Archelle is referred to as a Lord (*Dominus*).⁵²⁹

William Vitalus is the only one found by David to have been a supporter of Empress Matilda.⁵³⁰ According to the author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, Vitalus was the leader of the contingent from Southampton who refused to take part in the conquest of Lisbon because of his earlier experience with Afonso Henriques. This might not have been the only reason for his refusal. It is likely that most of the English were from areas in the south east which as has been shown were relatively loyal to Stephen and consequently were potentially Vitalus' enemies at home.⁵³¹ On the other hand, Fletcher suggested that some of the contingents might have been from

⁵²⁷ Benito Ruano, 'El Principado de Tarragona', in *Miscel·lània Ramon d'Abadal*, 107-119; Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France*, 54-85; Boissonade, 'Les premières croisades françaises en Espagne', 5-7.

⁵²⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 32-33.

⁵²⁹ *DEL*, 126-129.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 52, 101.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 101, 105.

Devon.⁵³² This is possible since the rendezvous point of the crusaders was Dartmouth. This differing loyalty perhaps made the unity of the English contingent hard to maintain especially since the situation at home was not yet settled. This is not to say that they would not be able to work together in the conquest of Lisbon as there are many examples in the Middle Ages where the crusader armies were made up of groups who had been enemies at home.⁵³³ However, even though these participants might have had different domestic loyalties, this did not stop them from cooperating with each other on a crusade that in reality changed little except for the drainage of manpower from intermittent conflict in England.

Although the materialistic motivation for the English contingent might have been high, it is important to note that the crusading ideology of the mid-twelfth century may have been at least as equally powerful and persuasive a force for encouraging many in this campaign to take the cross and follow the expedition with hopes of heavenly remission of sins.⁵³⁴ Albeit that there is no reference to preaching of the crusade in England, it is likely that the English heard, maybe on the continent, of the Papal proclamation for a crusade through preachers and were driven to take the cross solely for spiritual reasons, even if they were not called to take it by any important member of the clergy. However, as the evidence for this is almost non-existent, it is likely that since most of the crusaders came from trading towns in south east England

⁵³² Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, 145-146.

⁵³³ In the Third Crusade many of the French and English participants had been fighting each other on the wars between their monarchs, but this did not stop them from participating together in crusade. Similarly in the conquest of Algeiras in the mid-fourteenth century the English and French participants fought side by side against the Muslims while in France they had been fighting in the Hundred Year War. Tyerman, *England the Crusades*, 59-61, 277.

⁵³⁴ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 93-97.

they would have heard that a crusade was being planned when trading with the ports of Flanders and Germany. Moreover it is not unlikely that they were even able to hear the preaching of the crusade while at one of the continental ports.⁵³⁵

This is suggested in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* where the author explained *Igitur apud portum de Determude diversarum nationum et morum et linguarum gentes navibus circiter CLXIII*.⁵³⁶ This statement suggests that this rendezvous point had been agreed in advance by the international participants and to do so, they must have maintained contacts across the English Channel. More importantly, to have assembled such an important expedition in this English port; those who took part must have organized it at least a few months in advance. Although, no documentation has been found relating to these preparations or at least on the English side, the chronicles of the expedition do seem to suggest this had been so. Although gaining of booty and wealth may have been an important factor for the Anglo-Norman contribution in the conquest of Lisbon, the religious desire to go to Jerusalem as part of the crusade would also have been an equally powerful influence. This can be also inferred from many references that the author of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* has to the heavenly inspiration of those involved.⁵³⁷

Whether the Anglo-Norman crusaders knew from the very beginning that they were going to take part in the conquest of Lisbon specifically is

⁵³⁵ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 261-264; France, *The Crusades*, 133-134.

⁵³⁶ *DEL*, 52.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, 64-65, 69-85, 87-89, 104-111, 117, 133.

harder to determine. Phillips has suggested that this was so and that the crusaders were totally aware of the plan for an expedition to take the Moorish city in Iberia.⁵³⁸ However, from both the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* and the letters of Doudechin and Arnulf, the references are to the foreign crusaders being seduced, or at least persuaded by the Portuguese to take part in the siege of Lisbon.⁵³⁹ There have also been suggestions that the Portuguese campaign of reconquest of Lisbon did not have the support of the papacy and therefore it was not a crusade in the minds of the participants. Thus, the crusaders could not have been convinced by the Portuguese to play a part *ad loculi*.⁵⁴⁰ This might be true since there is no evidence, in contrast to that existing for the conquests of Almeria and Tortosa, that the pope gave his consent to include this expedition as part of the general crusade being preached across Europe. However, neither is there any evidence that the pope opposed Afonso Henriques' campaigns of reconquest.⁵⁴¹ Either way, these technicalities may not have affected the determination of these Anglo-Normans to contribute in this campaign because their definition of crusade was not sophisticated enough to distinguish between one campaign and another against the Muslims in the same area of Europe, the campaigns of Almeria and Tortosa being crusades and that of Lisbon not being one.⁵⁴² There is also the claim that because of the idea of the eternal struggle against the enemies of the faith, any military venture launched by the Iberian monarchs against the Moors throughout the reconquest had the theoretical

⁵³⁸ Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, Saint Bernard and the Second Crusade', 60-61; Phillips, 'Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, and the Lisbon Letter', 495-497.

⁵³⁹ *DEL*, 68-85; Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, Saint Bernard and the Second Crusade', 63.

⁵⁴⁰ Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon', 72.

⁵⁴¹ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 260.

⁵⁴² France, *The Crusades*, 133.

support of the papacy even if the pope did not actively produce a papal bull authorizing it. Moreover it appears that the local clergy in Portugal, in the perspective of the clerical narrator of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, had no doubts that the expedition had crusading status.

It seems more logical that most military ventures on the borders of Christendom that had some clerical local support were considered in the minds of some to be crusades, even if at certain points the popes were opposed to them.⁵⁴³ So even if the pope had opposed the Portuguese conquest of Lisbon, the Anglo-Norman expeditionary force that helped in its conquest were probably unaware of the pope's wishes, especially since there had not been any official preaching of crusade in the Anglo-Norman territories. This is a factor, which might have been exploited by the local Portuguese clergy in using inflammatory crusading speeches to convince the northern crusaders to take part in this enterprise.⁵⁴⁴ The result of the campaign seemed to have been the only good thing that came out of the Second Crusade in the eyes of contemporaries.⁵⁴⁵ The English chronicler Henry of Huntingdon even compared the achievements of his compatriots in Lisbon with those of the king of France and the Emperor of Germany in the Holy Land, as an example of the purity of the Anglo-Norman crusaders in comparison to those who went to the Holy Land.⁵⁴⁶ Although this comparison was an intentional explanation of the failure of the Second Crusade and an anti-Frankish outburst, nonetheless it shows that the conquest of Lisbon was considered by contemporaries to be

⁵⁴³ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 44-46; Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, 2-3.

⁵⁴⁴ *DEL*, 68-85.

⁵⁴⁵ *HA*, 737-739.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

crusade.

According to the narrative sources for the conquest of Lisbon the siege and final conquest of the city was achieved by an international force made of Anglo-Normans, Germans, Flemish and Portuguese.⁵⁴⁷ Bennett claims that it was impossible for Afonso Henriques to have conquered Lisbon without the help of the crusaders, a view that has been prevalent among English historians.⁵⁴⁸ Bennett suggested that the Iberians did not possess the means to conquer a city like Lisbon, since there is little evidence of the Iberians having mastered the technology of siege engines by the mid-twelfth century.⁵⁴⁹ However, this was not the only way to conquer cities and the Iberians had managed to take Toledo in 1086, which was a bigger city than Lisbon, without siege engines.⁵⁵⁰ It is nevertheless unlikely that Afonso Henriques would have been able to sustain a long siege at that specific time without the support of the northern crusaders.⁵⁵¹ Unlike his maternal grandfather, Afonso Henriques did not possess huge resources and manpower to sustain a siege of that kind without foreign help.

Afonso Henriques might have known about the imminent arrival of the northern crusaders in the spring, suggesting he took the risk of launching the siege before their arrival, perhaps, hoping that the Bishop of Porto would be more able to convince them of the worthiness of the venture. There is some

⁵⁴⁷ DEL, 100-104; Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, Saint Bernard and the Second Crusade', 61-67.

⁵⁴⁸ Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon', 74-75.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁵⁰ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 65; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Woodbridge, 1998), 119-120.

⁵⁵¹ Brachado, *A conquista de Lisboa aos mouros*, 11.

evidence of contact between the king and Saint Bernard and through him, with the crusaders in the Low Countries. If this was not the case, perhaps Alfonso Henriques might have come to know of the planned expedition from his clergy, who were deeply involved in trying to convince the pope to accept Afonso Henriques as his vassal.⁵⁵² Moreover, whilst his clerics were in Rome or in France, they would have been able to gather information on the large expedition being planned for that summer.

For Alfonso Henriques, the northern crusaders solved two problems. First they gave him the manpower and probably the technology to take Lisbon much more quickly,⁵⁵³ and secondly they gave him a substantial number of men hungry for land and property who were happy to settle down in this large city after the conquest and the expulsion of most of the Muslim inhabitants, who in his eyes perhaps were more difficult to control since they knew the land and they had powerful allies that would help them regain control of the city. In contrast to the Muslims, although the foreigners might have been untrustworthy, they were placed in a worse situation if they rebelled. Because they did not know the country and did not have any historical links with any of their new neighbours, they would be forced to be more docile. However, expulsion of Muslim communities even in the twelfth century was rare in Iberia and Lisbon was no exception.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵² CAI, 37.

⁵⁵³ Bennett, 'Military Aspects of the Conquest of Lisbon', 74-75.

⁵⁵⁴ Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, 134-137; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 202.

Of the Anglo-Norman settlement after the conquest of Lisbon we know that Gilbert of Hastings was given the See of Lisbon. However, information regarding other personal careers of those who stayed in Lisbon is almost impossible to follow since, as explained above, the documentary sources are very sparse. It seems that apart from Gilbert of Hastings several clerics stayed because there is mention in the charter found by Livermore of the priest who may have written *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* in Lisbon after its conquest. Apart from this, *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* suggests that a great number of crusaders from all nationalities who took part in the siege decided to stay and settle in Lisbon. However, none of the leaders of this expedition, like Harvey of Glanville, apparently remained in the newly-conquered city, although foreign crusaders were given special status within the new community. In the event, most of the crusaders, who took part in the conquest of Lisbon, continued on their way to the Holy Land and as we will see in the following sections were involved in other campaigns of the Iberian reconquest that had been launched during this period under the crusading call of Eugenius III (See Map 1). It is likely that the previous disputes that arose between the Iberian and northern crusaders made them distrustful of living in Portugal under Afonso Henriques' over-lordship, encouraged them to keep their booty and continue their pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The siege and conquest of Almeria

By the end of 1147 the armies of the empire of Leon, together with those of the count of Barcelona, the count of Montpellier and the Genoese fleet had managed to conquer the strategically-important Moorish port of

Almeria. The siege and conquest of Almeria and Jaén were as much part of the Second Crusade as the conquest of Lisbon or Tortosa. Moreover, because of its position between these two episodes, both chronologically and geographically, the conquest of Almeria is a possible theatre for the Anglo-Norman input in Iberia as part of the Second Crusade.⁵⁵⁵ Although there is evidence of papal support for at least the conquest of Almeria and there are references from both Genoese and Leonese sources that there was a substantial involvement of Franks in this expedition, there is no direct reference to any English or Anglo-Normans from either Iberian, Genoese or other sources.⁵⁵⁶ However, the fact that the conquest of Almeria occurred simultaneously with the conquest of Lisbon explains why there was no English involvement in this campaign.⁵⁵⁷ Nevertheless, this was perhaps the most important victory in the reconquest of Spain by the empire of Leon and Castile during the reign of Alfonso VII and the absence of Anglo-Normans in this campaign is notable since there is such an abundance of evidence for their contribution in the other two great campaigns of the Second Crusade in Iberia.⁵⁵⁸ The question of why there was such little interest by the Anglo-Normans in the campaigns of reconquest led by the Leonese or the Castilians will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter. This section will explore how the campaigns for the conquest of Almeria and Jaén were developed, and how the conquest of Almeria might have helped to persuade some

⁵⁵⁵ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 44-45.

⁵⁵⁶ *CAI*, 131; *CAT*, 23-29; J.-P. Migne, *Scripta Quæ Supersunt: Eugenii III*, CLXXX (Paris, 1902), col. 1345-1347; Lucas de Tuy, *Crónica de España*, ed. J. Puyol (Madrid, 1926), 391-193.

⁵⁵⁷ Lucas de Tuy, *Crónica de España*, 391-193.

⁵⁵⁸ *DEL*, 52-185; *CAT*, 32.

veterans of the conquest of Lisbon to help the count of Barcelona conquer Tortosa.

After the death of Alfonso I of Aragon in 1134 and the long struggle to regain his inheritance from the Aragonese and his mother Urraca, Alfonso VII of Castile-Leon was prepared to revive the imperial title of *Hispania* which the Leonese monarchs had used at different points in the previous hundred and fifty years and which Alfonso I of Aragon had used for most of his reign during the disputes with his wife over the rule of the kingdom of Leon and Castile.⁵⁵⁹ Yet despite all his imperial claims, Alfonso VII's reign was far from stable as the Portuguese monarch tried continuously to break away from his vassalage to the emperor, whilst simultaneously the Navarrese did not maintain their original promise of loyalty and vassalage.⁵⁶⁰ However, Alfonso VII managed to create a useful diplomatic alliance with the count of Barcelona, which proved of great advantage both for his wars against the Moors and against the Navarrese.⁵⁶¹ Alfonso VII also conquered small towns and fortifications formerly held by the Moors south of Toledo in the 1130s and 1140s and attempted, unsuccessfully, to capture Cordoba to stop it falling to Almohad forces, which were unifying al-Andalus.⁵⁶²

Alfonso VII's imperial claims over the peninsula convinced him to give support to the ecclesiastical claim of the primacy of Toledo over the whole of the peninsula, a policy which was supported by the clergy at home and which

⁵⁵⁹ AnCA II, 112; Recuero Astray, 'El imperio de Alfonso VII', 664.

⁵⁶⁰ Linehan, 'Spain in the Twelfth century', 481.

⁵⁶¹ Ladero Quesada, 'El imperio de Alfonso VII', 413, 415, 416.

⁵⁶² CAI, 127-129.

helped him to forge a strong relationship with Rome.⁵⁶³ The pope saw Alfonso VII as the undisputed head of *Hispania* and was happy to accept his imperial claims albeit, this was the case that the Portuguese monarch was attempting to undermine by offering his vassalage to the papacy. Not only did Alfonso VII win the clergy over with the support of Toledo, but he also gave lands to religious orders like the Cistercians. Alfonso VII's close relationship with Rome was used to it fullest in the preparation for the conquest of Almeria, for which he managed to gain the support of Eugenius III with full recognition of it as a crusading enterprise. Ecclesiastical support was so strong for this enterprise that Alfonso VII managed to convince his vassals, the counts of Barcelona and Montpellier, to join it (See Map 1).⁵⁶⁴ Of course, the Genoese and the Pisans played a pivotal role in this expedition since they benefited mostly by destroying the base of pirates, which disrupted commerce in the western Mediterranean.⁵⁶⁵ According to *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* it was the Genoese who convinced the Leonese emperor to launch this crusading enterprise.⁵⁶⁶ Although it had strong support from the Iberians and probably some Franks, it served more directly the interests of Italian city-states and the count of Barcelona than his own.

⁵⁶³ Ladero Quesada, 'El imperio de Alfonso VII', 438.

⁵⁶⁴ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 83; Linehan, 'Spain in the twelfth century', 488.

⁵⁶⁵ Gari, 'Why Almeria?' 211-233.

⁵⁶⁶ 'Thus while the Emperor of Leon, the terror of the Ishmaelites, was still at the siege of the aforementioned city (Cordoba), some eloquent envoys of Genoese came to urging him « so that his sign (corrupted text)» to destroy Almeria, a base of sea pirates'. English Translation: 'The Poem of Almeria', in *The World of El Cid*, ed. S. Barton and R. Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), 248; *CAI*, 128; Gari, 'Why Almeria?' 211-233.

The sources for the conquest of Almeria

The main sources for the conquest of Almeria are the *Poem of Almeria* and the *Cronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, but there is also one Genoese account throwing light on the conquest of the city: Caffaro's *De Captione Almerie et Tortouse*.⁵⁶⁷ Documentary sources for the settlement of Almeria are difficult to find since Almeria was reconquered by the Moors ten years after its conquest by Alfonso VII, but the *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova* provides some details on who was given what after the conquest in 1147.

As the *Poem of Almeria* is the most important narrative source for the conquest and siege by Alfonso VII and the Genoese and Pisan fleet, this will be addressed first. In content, the poem is most likely to have been based on historical events, however, the mid-twelfth century epic contains certain inaccuracies, like the supposed conquest of Andujar and there are problems with chronology.⁵⁶⁸ This is not enough however to discredit the poem, which portrays the expedition as a vivid example of a crusading venture with clerical blessing. It states that the call to crusade was extended throughout the land when it says:

All the bishops of [the kingdom of] Toledo and Leon,
unsheathing the divine and material sword, exhort adults
and urge on the young so that all might go bravely and
surely to battle. They pardon sins and raise their voices
to heaven, pledging to all the reward of this life and the
next.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷ *PA*, 131-144; *CAI*, 128-129; *CAT*, 21-29; *CDRG*, 228-230.

⁵⁶⁸ *CAI*, 48.

⁵⁶⁹ 'The Poem of Almeria', 251.

It also claims, as is confirmed in other sources, that there were Frankish and Genoese participants in this expedition.⁵⁷⁰ However, as with all narrative sources about the expedition, the poem does not mention any Anglo-Norman contribution in the siege and conquest of this major port on the southern Mediterranean coast of Spain.

The second most important source from the Iberian peninsula is the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*. This is a significant work written by an anonymous author who was relatively close to Emperor Alfonso VII and who narrated the most important events of his reign down to 1147. Although this chronicle does not mention the siege and conquest of Almeria, it contains interesting information about the preparations for the expedition. It shows the importance of crusading rhetoric in the formation of the army that composed the expedition which was launched against Almeria: 'the Emperor sent Bishop Arnold of Astorga as an envoy to the count of Barcelona and to William, Lord of Montpellier, so that, for the redemption of their souls, they would be present at the same time on first of August to destroy the aforementioned nest of pirates (Almeria).' ⁵⁷¹ This shows that the author certainly perceived expedition against Almeria being planned by Alfonso VII and his Genoese and Pisan allies as divinely inspired, even though there were additional secular motives. This is a good example of how the Iberian rulers planned their crusading

⁵⁷⁰ PA, 131-133.

⁵⁷¹ 'Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris', in *The World of El Cid*, eds. S. Barton and R. Fletcher (Manchester, 2000), 249.

expeditions using their ecclesiastical vassals and subordinates to give the expedition more legitimacy in the eyes of their allies.

The other important narrative source for the conquest is the chronicle written by the Genoese Caffaro about the capture of Almeria and Tortosa.⁵⁷² This is a fluent narrative in Latin, which describes the way in which the campaign was planned and executed by the Genoese, the Castilians and other participants. Constable thought that Caffaro was not an eyewitness, but perhaps used eyewitness reports of events since he was a high-ranking official in the Genoese government.⁵⁷³ According to Ubieto Arteta, who edited this chronicle in 1973, Caffaro had taken part in an earlier expedition against Almeria and even if he did not participate in the conquest of Almeria of 1147, he wrote this chronicle before 1154.⁵⁷⁴ Both Ubieto Arteta and Constable agreed that he was a relatively reliable source for the conquest of Almeria.⁵⁷⁵ It is important to notice that even though this is the main narrative for the conquest of Tortosa and it is also the only source for this expedition that refers to the English contribution to the conquest of that city, it does not contain any allusion to Englishmen in the conquest of Almeria.

By the time Lisbon had been conquered by the crusading armies, Almeria had also fallen to the combined armies of the Iberian, Frankish and Italian forces, so that when those Anglo-Normans who decided to continue on their way to the Holy Land passed this Andalusian port it was already in the

⁵⁷² *CAT*, 7.

⁵⁷³ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 227.

⁵⁷⁴ *CAT*, 8-9.

⁵⁷⁵ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 228; *CAT*, 7-9.

hands of the Christian forces.⁵⁷⁶ Although there are no references to much of what happened during the ten years of Christian domination over Almeria, it is likely that at least some of the Anglo-Norman contingent who decided to continue to the Holy Land after the conquest of Lisbon stopped in Almeria for supplies. While there they might have been invited either by the Genoese or by the counts of Barcelona or Montpellier to join in the coming campaign against Tortosa.⁵⁷⁷ English sources do mention the conquest of Almeria, suggesting that the Anglo-Normans were aware of this Christian victory, although they cannot be used to confirm that a detachment of the Anglo-Normans visited this city soon after its conquest by the Christian forces.⁵⁷⁸ But this may be the most likely explanation for the later Anglo-Norman presence at Tortosa, since it seems unlikely that the fleet of northern crusaders, which included the Anglo-Normans, would otherwise have gone to Tortosa if they were on their way to the Holy Land.⁵⁷⁹

The conquest of Tortosa

The conquest of Tortosa is the least well-known of the three large campaigns of the Second Crusade in Iberia, at least among English historians, although Constable provided a substantial account of it in his article on the Second Crusade half a century ago and in recent years N. Jaspert has written on the subject.⁵⁸⁰ The conquest of Tortosa is the only other expedition of the Second Crusade for which there are references in the narrative sources on the

⁵⁷⁶ *DEL*, 181.

⁵⁷⁷ Morera i Llauredó, *Tarragona cristiana*, I, 417.

⁵⁷⁸ *RTC*, 155.

⁵⁷⁹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 44-45.

⁵⁸⁰ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 225-228; Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 90-100.

specific involvement of *Anglici*.⁵⁸¹ Although Caffaro's *Captione* is the only narrative source containing a reference to the English participation, there are abundant references to them in archival records. Some of these documents especially those contained in the *Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus*, were exploited by R. Miravall in his short work on the English migration to Tortosa.⁵⁸² Although it was only Caffaro's Chronicle of the contemporary narratives, which mentioned their participation,⁵⁸³ the number of English settlers was massive in comparison to the other areas of Norman and Anglo-Norman contribution.⁵⁸⁴ Moreover other contemporary narrative sources in England and elsewhere in Europe except for Iberia and Italy, were relatively silent about this campaign.⁵⁸⁵

The conquest of Tortosa, however, had full papal support and brought the frontier of the Catalan counties fully to the Ebro Valley, opening the way for the later conquests of the thirteenth century. How the Anglo-Normans came upon Tortosa is not clear from the documentary sources. It has been assumed, moreover, that the English in Tortosa were the same, or at least a detachment of those, involved in Lisbon. If this is so, it raises the question why did so many of them not stay in Lisbon if their apparent aim was to gain land? And why did they decide to continue on their way to the Holy Land and end up in the siege of Tortosa and settle there? These questions will be addressed in the next section.

⁵⁸¹ CAT, 32.

⁵⁸² Miravall, *Immigració britànica a Tortosa*, 7-47.

⁵⁸³ CAT, 32.

⁵⁸⁴ DCT, 130-218; LB, 50.

⁵⁸⁵ GS, 127; HA, 750-752. Neither text mentions anything to do with the siege and conquest.

The unification of the county of Barcelona and the kingdom of Aragon

To understand the origins of the conquest of Tortosa in 1148, one must look at political developments in the eastern part of the peninsula preceding it. In 1134, as discussed earlier, Alfons I of Aragon-Navarre was killed in battle outside Fraga in 1134.⁵⁸⁶ Being childless he left his kingdom to the military orders. However, this donation was too idealistic to be accepted by the nobility of his two kingdoms and when he died the nobles of both Aragon and Navarre decided to look for a monarch of their own.⁵⁸⁷ The Navarrese chose Garcia while the Aragonese chose Ramiro, brother of Alfons I, who was a monk.⁵⁸⁸ They managed to convince him to marry Inez de Poitiers and when he had a daughter she was betrothed to Ramon Berenguer IV count of Barcelona.⁵⁸⁹ By 1137 Ramon Berenguer IV was fully in control of Aragon as Prince Regent and Ramiro II was back in a monastery, even though Patronila, his daughter, was still a child.⁵⁹⁰

This marriage unified the Crown of Aragon and formed an important state which was going to counter-balance the growing power of Castile and Leon within the peninsula until the fifteenth century. However, by this date the Crown of Aragon, as it is known, was still in its infancy and Catalonia was still not united under the count of Barcelona, although his growing prestige and wealth were making him the undisputed leader of the Catalan counties. The

⁵⁸⁶ Lacarra, *Vida de Alfonso el batallador*, 127-128.

⁵⁸⁷ *CAI*, 82; *SJP*, 31.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 32; *CAI*, 82.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 83; *SJP*, 51.

⁵⁹⁰ J. Á. Sesma Muñoz, 'De la muerte de el batallador a la llegada de el primer rey de la Corona de Aragón', in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal: La reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política*, IX (Madrid, 1998), 678-679.

fact that Aragon and Barcelona were not yet physically connected to each other at this point made it imperative for Ramon Berenguer IV to try to reconquer what is now known as New Catalonia and, by doing so, join his two realms. This would also forestall the ability for expansion of other Catalan counts, such as the count of Urgel, who became his vassals in the new territories. Continuing the process of *Reconquista* which his predecessors in both Catalonia and Aragon had begun in the early twelfth century, was also of great importance to maintain the peace within his realms, since a new noble caste was rising both in the Catalan counties and Aragon which was hungry for new territories to conquer. If he had not followed their expansionist desires he might have faced rebellion and instability within his territories as had occurred in the county of Barcelona in the first half of the eleventh century.⁵⁹¹

Unlike Afonso Henriques of Portugal, Ramon Berenguer IV did not attempt to undermine the Imperial claims of Alfonso VII of Leon. Instead, he accepted his vassal position as count of Barcelona and Prince Regent of Aragon.⁵⁹² This nominal vassalage to the Leonese monarch allowed him to secure his control of Aragon and permitted him to continue the process of reconquest.⁵⁹³ Also by accepting his position as vassal of the Emperor of Leon, he could take part in the conquest of Almeria where he perhaps managed to strengthen his relations with the Genoese who would later help him to conquer Tortosa.⁵⁹⁴ To conquer Tortosa, Ramon Berenguer IV knew from previous experience, that he needed a naval blockade. With this in mind,

⁵⁹¹ Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain', 46-47.

⁵⁹² CAI, 84.

⁵⁹³ E. Morera y Lloredó, *Tarragona Cristiana*, I (Tarragona, 1982), 397-398.

⁵⁹⁴ Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 92.

he sought the help of the Genoese who, like the Pisans, had helped his father to conquer the Balearic Islands,⁵⁹⁵ They were now a thriving Christian sea power with growing interests in the Iberian peninsula . For the Italian city-states, the attack on Tortosa also had great economic advantages, as had that against Almeria.⁵⁹⁶ With it, the Genoese were able to destroy another important pirate and commercial competitor in the western Mediterranean.⁵⁹⁷ Apart from augmenting their markets and the colonial outposts in Spain, the Genoese were also inspired by the crusading zeal, which the popes had clearly aroused in the decades since the First Crusade, for campaigns of reconquest in Iberia.⁵⁹⁸

Sources for the conquest of Tortosa

Contemporary Iberian sources for the conquest of Tortosa do not give details concerning the events of the siege and conquest of the city. Even later Iberian chronicles do not give much information, apart from the fact that Tortosa was conquered by Ramon Berenguer IV with help from the Genoese. As for the conquest of Almeria, Caffaro wrote a relatively detailed account of the taking of Tortosa by the crusaders and it is the only narrative source to mention English input in the siege of the city.⁵⁹⁹ But although Caffaro's narration is in general detailed from the point of view of the Genoese at the siege, his reference to the English participation is brief.⁶⁰⁰ Caffaro's work

⁵⁹⁵ The Balearic Islands were conquered by Ramon Berenguer III with Pisan help in 1113/14 but they were soon reconquered by the Almoravids. Morera y Lloradó, *Tarragona Cristiana*, I, 380-396.

⁵⁹⁶ Gari, 'Why Almeria?' 211-233.

⁵⁹⁷ Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 93.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibidem; Gari, 'Why Almeria?' 211-217.

⁵⁹⁹ CAT, 30-35.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 32.

however, is complemented by Genoese documents relating to the conquest of the city that were published by Imperiale in 1936.⁶⁰¹

The inadequacies of the narrative records can be compensated for by the relative abundance of excellent archival material.⁶⁰² A. Virgili, an expert of the conquest and settlement of Tortosa, has compiled a substantial collection of the records in question as part of the *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa*.⁶⁰³ Most of the charters are not directly about the English settlers but do contain their names as witnesses. This compilation of charters is by far the largest but like the others suffers from the same problematic attribution of second names to English families for example *Angles* and *Anglici*. It also mentions a number of names whose Englishness is not certain, like Salvagnac and Morlans.

There are also two cartularies from the two most important monasteries of New Catalonia; those of Poblet and Santas Creus.⁶⁰⁴ The manuscript sources are kept in the municipal library of Tarragona. They are composed of two distinct books of charters written at the end of the twelfth century or the

⁶⁰¹ Documentation relating to the Genoese settlement survives in many compilations in Spain and in Italy. *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1936), docs. 159, 168, 166, 168, 169, 174, 182, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 202, 214, 215, 216, 243, 244.

⁶⁰² All the documents that have been found so far are listed in a chronological order in the appendix with description of its content and location.

⁶⁰³ I was unable to visit the archive of the Cathedral where these documents are kept in their original medieval form, because, the archivist informed me that the archive room was inaccessible. The staircase access to the room had fallen during restoration process and it will take up to 18 months for the archive to be reopened to the public. For this reason, I used the edited version written by Virgili, which was very helpful to confirm that all the sources that exist in this archive relating to the settlement of Tortosa by the Anglo-Normans after its conquest are contained in the charters of the Cathedral.

⁶⁰⁴ See Appendix for a description of each document relating to the Anglo-Normans that survives.

beginning of the thirteenth century.⁶⁰⁵ The documents are not originals, but copies. The Cartulary of Poblet was transcribed and published by Pons i Marqués in 1938. The charters and other documents from the monastery of Santas Creus were compiled in a book known as the *Llibre Blanch* perhaps because at some point it possessed a white parchment cover.⁶⁰⁶ While the published form of the cartulary of Poblet follows the order of the charters as copied into the cartulary, in the *Llibre Blanch* the editor has recorded them in chronological order. This hides the fact that in the manuscript most of the charters concerning the English are placed together on folios 100 to 124. This suggests that the monks thought it important to keep the English community's documents closely together. E. Altisent, a Catalan historian, has compiled another collection from the records of the monastery Poblet, which includes documents that were not incorporated in the original cartulary but which are now found in the National Archive of Spain in Madrid.⁶⁰⁷

There are also some other very important documents which belonged to the ancient monastery of Santa Ana in Barcelona and which are now held in the Cathedral of Barcelona. These have been published recently by J. Alturo i Perucho in a book about the archive of this monastery.⁶⁰⁸ The two of most importance in this thesis are one relating to an early donation to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in which the leader of the English contingent is mentioned and one in which the English cemetery of the English contingent is mentioned

⁶⁰⁵ *Cartulari de Poblet edició del manuscrit de Tarragona*, ed. J. Pons i Marqués (Barcelona, 1938), 9; *El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus*, ed. F. Udina Mortorell (Barcelona, 1948), vii-l.

⁶⁰⁶ *El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus*, ed. F. Udina Mortorell, vii-ix.

⁶⁰⁷ *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, ed. E. Altisent (Barcelona, 1994). See Appendix.

⁶⁰⁸ Appendix: doc. 31.

and two of the main Anglo-Normans are listed as witnesses: Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvagnac.⁶⁰⁹

The prelude to the conquest of Tortosa

The siege of Tortosa had been attempted by previous counts of Barcelona, but it was not until the reign of Ramon Berenguer IV that it was possible to undertake such a venture with a realistic chance of success.⁶¹⁰ This is because by this date the larger cities of the Ebro, like Saragossa and Tudela, were in Christian hands. In the case of Saragossa, Ramon Berenguer IV was now the prince regent of Aragon and could use his Aragonese resources and possessions as a base to harry the positions of the Muslims in Tortosa.⁶¹¹ Moreover, the approval shown by the papacy for this campaign made it possible to give this expedition the status of crusade.⁶¹² This was an important bonus since it permitted the Barcelonese count to recruit, as Afonso Henriques had done, the help of the Anglo-Norman contingent and others from southern France and the Low Countries. The status also permitted the count to use the very great wealth of the church to finance the expedition.⁶¹³ He was able to hire the Genoese fleet, which scarcely required an excuse, to

⁶⁰⁹ Appendix: doc. 31.

⁶¹⁰ A. Virgili, *Ad detrimentum Yspanie* (Barcelona, 2001), 43; Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 90-93.

⁶¹¹ Virgili, *Ad detrimentum Yspanie*, 46-50; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 85-87.

⁶¹² The Papal letter of Eugenius III gives the campaign of Ramon Berenguer IV against Tortosa the same status as that launched against the Muslims in the Holy Land. ACA, Cancilleria, leg. 1 num. 14. Goñi Gaztambide and Constable date it 22 June 1148 but recently Virgili has suggested it might be from 1147, which certainly gives enough time for it to be used to attract the interest of the Anglo-Norman crusaders, since it is well accepted that the siege concluded in December 1148. Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish crusaders in 1147', 226; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 86; Virgili, *Ad detrimentum Yspanie*, 45; Robinson, 'The Papacy 1122-1198', 347.

⁶¹³ Virgili, *Ad detrimentum Yspanie*, 44.

accept the proposals of the count of Barcelona for conquering Tortosa since it represented an important rival to its interests in the western Mediterranean as Almeria had done. The status of crusade would certainly have helped encourage this party to play a part, although, since 1146 the Genoese had accorded help to the Barcelonese count in any military venture against Tortosa.⁶¹⁴

The Anglo-Normans' arrival at Tortosa

How the Anglo-Norman contingent came to be involved in this expedition is not clear from the evidence. There is no surviving accord between the English and the count, nor Norman chronicle of the events of the expedition. Constable suggested that the Anglo-Norman crusaders were the same as those who besieged and conquered Lisbon in 1147, or at least a fraction of them.⁶¹⁵ This might be so, but there is no real evidence for this apart from the *Chronica Regia* of Cologne which says: *Quorundam christianorum corpora variis occisionibus extincta, apud Ulixibonam sapulta, miraculis claruerunt. Istis taliter patrat, christiani Tortuosam civitatem pari modo aggressi devicerunt, et tropheum crucis erigentes inibi, militari manu munierunt.*⁶¹⁶ However, there does not seem to be another explanation for how the English contingent became involved in this expedition apart from the possibility that they were directly invited by the count, perhaps through his

⁶¹⁴ *Codice diplomatico*, doc. 168.

⁶¹⁵ Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders in 1147', 525-226.

⁶¹⁶ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1880), 86; Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders', 226.

Norman vassal Robert Burdet's contacts in England and Normandy.⁶¹⁷ This is not substantiated however, since none of the documents, which suggest that Burdet acquired lands in Tortosa after its conquest link him in any way with the Anglo-Norman names.⁶¹⁸ The more likely scenario is that, as stated above, the Anglo-Norman contingent that was involved in the Tortosa crusade came into contact with either the count or the Genoese or both as they passed the Strait of Gibraltar and stopped in the newly conquered city of Almeria for provisions.⁶¹⁹ Another possibility is that they were invited by a third party or an agent working for the Genoese or the Barcelonese count. Yet a further possibility is that the Anglo-Norman and Flemish fleets which had taken part in the siege of Lisbon decided to follow the Iberian coast round to Barcelona after they had sacked Faro in February 1148 and in this way came directly into contact with the Barcelonese either in Tarragona or Barcelona itself.⁶²⁰ If this was so the papal bull of Eugenius III which, according to Bishko was issued on 22 June 1147, would have served as an important form of encouragement for the Anglo-Norman crusaders:

Rogamus monemus et exhortamur in Domino quatenus ad expugnationem infidelium et inimicorum Crucis Christi viriliter accingamini et cum nobili viro Raimundo Barchinone comite pro defensione christiane fidei et totius sancta ecclesie cum devotione proficisci nullatenus dubitantis. Ut autem pro tanto labore dignum premium vos habituros speretis illam peccatorum remissionem que a predecessore nostro felicis memorie papa Urbano ad liberationem ecclesie tunc

⁶¹⁷ See previous chapter.

⁶¹⁸ Appendix: docs. 60, 78, 60.

⁶¹⁹ Morera i Llauredó, *Tarragona cristiana*, I, 417.

⁶²⁰ Constable, 'A Note on the Route of the Anglo-Flemish Crusaders in 1147', 525-226.

*transeuntibus statuta est vobis auctoritate apostolica
confirmamus.*⁶²¹

Certainly the equation of the crusade to the Holy Land to the expedition led by Ramon Berenguer IV referenced above, together with the presence of Nicholas Breakspear as a non-official papal legate must have been reason enough for the Anglo-Norman contingent that had been involved in the Lisbon campaign, to contribute in this expedition, without official encouragement from the pope himself. In the eyes of contemporaries and of the church this made the expedition a crusade.⁶²² As an Englishman, Nicholas Breakspear (the future Pope Adrian IV) would have been a familiar face to those crusaders who acquainted with him or his family. Breakspear was from Hertfordshire and probably well-known in southern England where the majority of the expedition were from.⁶²³ His reputation as Abbot of Saint Ruffus and his position were additional incentives for the crusaders to get involved in the planned siege.⁶²⁴ The involvement of Breakspear would have been of great practical importance as he could address the Anglo-Norman crusaders in their own language. This familiarity would have created a better climate of trust between the crusaders and the Iberian ruler, which had not been the case in Portugal.

On the other hand, as shown above, the papacy did seem to have a clear policy of crusade for Tortosa. The introduction of a papal letter of support for the expedition, was certainly more convincing to the crusaders of the

⁶²¹ Virgili, *Ad detrimentum Yspanie*, 44 n. 23.

⁶²² Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 92.

⁶²³ Cardenal Boso, 'Life of Adrian IV', in *Adrian IV the English Pope*, eds. B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), 215.

⁶²⁴ Smith, 'The Abbot-Crusader Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia', 30-32.

worthiness of their cause than the arguments mentioned by *De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi*.⁶²⁵ However, Tortosa like Almeria, Faro and Lisbon before, were not in the Holy Land and it is likely that not all the crusaders who had been involved in Lisbon were also involved in Tortosa, although this Iberian city shared its name with a Templar castle in the Holy Land itself and the Templars were preparing to contribute in this Iberian crusade.

The conquest of Tortosa was achieved after a long siege, in which the Genoese played a vital part blockading the river route into the Ebro and in which the crusading armies had managed to maintain order. The role played during this siege by the Anglo-Normans was briefly recorded by Caffaro: *Angli namque, una cum militibus Templi et cum multis aliis alienigenis, desuper uersus romelinum iuxta flumen steterunt*.⁶²⁶ Here he suggests that the Anglo-Normans used their fleet to reinforce the Genoese and the Templars to attack the area of Remolins on the western side of Tortosa. Apart from this short mention in Caffaro's *Chronicle*, there is little reference to the role played by the Anglo-Normans in the siege.⁶²⁷ This action by the Anglo-Norman fleet is similar to that played a few decades earlier by the Normans of Sicily to help the then Ramon Berenguer III in a planned siege of Tortosa.⁶²⁸ However, there is no evidence that the Anglo-Norman contingent had considered taking part directly in the campaign of Tortosa before they came to the peninsula on their way to the Holy Land. The Anglo-Norman contribution therefore may have been substantial but certainly not as great as that of the Genoese, who after

⁶²⁵ *DEL*, 70-101.

⁶²⁶ *CAT*, 32.

⁶²⁷ A. Virgili, *Ad Detrimentum Yspanie; La conquesta de Turṭūša i la formació de la societat feudal (1148-1200)* (Valencia, 2001), 60-67.

⁶²⁸ Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 93.

the conquest received a great section of the city with similar conditions of exemption from dues to the count for trade as seems to have been accorded to the English after the conquest of Lisbon.

Apart from Caffaro's mention of the Anglo-Normans, there is another reference that helps to throw light on the make up of the Anglo-Norman contingent. This is a charter of a donation of some houses in Tortosa to the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. This charter, was originally in the monastery of Santa Anna in Barcelona and now exists in the archive of the city's cathedral. It is of great importance to this study not only because it is one of the first charters to survive from after the fall of Tortosa but, more importantly, because it shows in its witness list that the Anglo-Norman contingent was organized under the leadership of a *Stabulari*.⁶²⁹ This reference to the leader is different from the more common '*constabulari*', but both refer to a marshal. The name of this leader was *Balluini de Carona*. His name could be a hispanisation of the family name Caron or Cairon, a family originally from the Calvados region in Normandy.⁶³⁰ According to *Domesday Book*, this family settled in Bedfordshire after the Conquest.⁶³¹ If Balluini de Carona was a descendant of this family from Bedfordshire, like Harvey of Glanville he came from south east England. It is thus possible that Balluini and some of the contingent that went to Tortosa were a detachment of Harvey of Glanville's group from East Anglia. Moreover this charter certainly confutes Morera i Llauradó's claim that Gilbert Anglici was the leader of the Anglo-

⁶²⁹ Appendix: doc. 31.

⁶³⁰ Loyd, *The Origin of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 25.

⁶³¹ *Domesday Book*, 210, 210b, 212, 212b, 214b.

Norman contingent that was involved in Tortosa.⁶³² As will be shown, both Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvagnac were very important in the Anglo-Norman repopulation of Tortosa and perhaps after the disappearance of Balluini they became the default leaders of the new community.

One of the problems concerning Balluini de Carona is that he does not appear in any other charter about the repopulation of Tortosa. Moreover Gerald of Salvagnac and Gilbert Anglici,⁶³³ who are commonly referred to in later charters, are not mentioned in this first charter. There is a Gilbert A. mentioned in a charter of 1149, but it is impossible to be sure that this is the Gilbert Anglici who appears so often in many of the charters of Tortosa, which survive in the cartularies of Poblet, Santas Creus and in the documents in the cathedral of Tortosa. The lack of reference in other documents to the *stabulari* of the Anglo-Norman contingent might indicate that he did not stay in Tortosa but perhaps continued on his way to the Holy Land, as many of the crusaders preferred to do after the conquest of Lisbon, and as the *Chronica Regia* of Cologne indicates. He might have felt inclined to fulfil his crusading vows by continuing his pilgrimage.⁶³⁴ The existence of this *stabulari* whose position as head of the expedition can only be guessed at, was perhaps based on the assertion in *Expugnacione Lyxbonensi* that the leaders were chosen among the participants.⁶³⁵ However, as this man is not mentioned either, one might assume that he was chosen during the expedition's move from Lisbon into

⁶³² Morera i Llauredó, *Tarragona cristiana*, I, 417.

⁶³³ See Appendix for a chronological listing of the documents relating to these two settlers.

⁶³⁴ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 86.

⁶³⁵ *DEL*, 54-55.

Tortosa, something which is not narrated in *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* or any other known source.

The Anglo-Norman settlers

Although the details of the Anglo-Norman military input into this campaign are scarce, information regarding the settlement compensates with abundant detail. The careers of men like Gilbert, John, Osbert and Jordan Angles and Gerald, Stephen and William Salvagnac can be traced individually from around the first decade of the conquest of Tortosa.⁶³⁶

Of all the Norman or Anglo-Norman families the only one that can be traced back to a specific area of England is the Salvagnac or Savigne, which has usually been classified as Anglo-Norman, perhaps because of this family's very close relationship with other Anglo-Normans with the Anglici surname, such as Gilbert and Osbert, as Miravall suggested.⁶³⁷ Their distinctive surname, which makes them likely to belong to at least the lower nobility, does not, however, guarantee that they were indeed of Norman origin since the name Salvagnac also exists in southern France and the southern French nobility is well documented as having contributed to the conquest of Tortosa under the leadership of Count William of Montpellier.⁶³⁸ However, one important detail about Gerald of Salvagnac, who is the most frequently mentioned of the Salvagnacs in Tortosa, is that the surname appears written

⁶³⁶ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', 227.

⁶³⁷ Miravall, *Immigració britànica a Tortosa*, 57-75; Virgili, *Ad Detrimentum Yspanie*, 56. There are also a few references to some Morlans who could be Anglo-Normans, but who could also be Gascons or Bretons. Appendix: docs. 32, 44, 125.

⁶³⁸ 'Alia uero pars desuper a monatana loca, nomine Bagnare, cum comite W(illielmo) Montispesulani tentoria posuerunt'. CAT, 32.

in a array of spellings ranging from Salvaic, Silvanico, Salvinicho, Sovagne and Salvanacho. If the surname of this family whose members (Stephen, William and Gerald) have typical Anglo-Norman names is just a misspelling of a succession of Iberian scribes who unsuccessfully tried to write down this foreign surname in the charters of Tortosa from the early 1150's to the late 1180's, it is likely that it was referring to the Anglo-Norman family of Savenie or Savigné.⁶³⁹ This would be significant since, like the Glanvilles and the Carons, the Savigné were originally from Calvados in Normandy and possessed lands in East Anglia.⁶⁴⁰ If this is so it is very significant because like the Glanvilles, the Savigné were also vassals of the Bigods who during this time period were led by the troublesome Hugh Bigod, whose relationship with Stephen was far from simple and who was very active during the period of 'the Anarchy'.⁶⁴¹ Hugh Bigod was an important figure during this period, changing sides on many occasions. It is probable that his vassals did not always appreciate his political manoeuvres and were inclined to leave his service by joining a crusade.

Gerald of Savigno, as such, does not seem to appear in any English charter. Gerald is by far the best documented of the Anglo-Normans and of the Salvagnacs with charters dating from 1151 referencing his possessions in Xerta to the late 1180's, when it appears that he was already dead.⁶⁴² He is

⁶³⁹ Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 95.

⁶⁴⁰ *Doomsday Book: Suffolk Part Two*, XXXIV, ed. J. Morris and A. Rumble (Chichaster, 1986), 373b, 375b, 376b.

⁶⁴¹ A. Wareham, 'The Motives and Politics of the Bigod Family c. 1066-1177', *ANS*, XVII (1994), 233-239.

⁶⁴² The first document mentioning this Anglo-Norman is a donation of some houses in the interior of Tarragona given to him by the count of Barcelona in 1151. BPT, El Llibre Blanch de

named in 63 charters as signatory and there are references in nine surviving documents to his lands and wealth.⁶⁴³ His prominence and the fact that he kept his Anglo-Norman surname may also indicate that he, together with Gilbert Anglici, was one of the main leaders of the Anglo-Norman community that settled down in Tortosa after the disappearance from the historical record of Balluini de Caron from 1149.

Whilst the majority of Anglo-Norman settlers do not have a locative surname more specific than *Anglici*, some of their careers after they came to Tortosa can be followed in considerable detail. The most obvious examples are Gilbert Anglici, Osbert Angles and John Angles. For Gilbert Anglici there are eight charters which have direct reference to his career in Tortosa and there are 12 more documents where his possession are mentioned. There are 42 documents where he appears as a witness.⁶⁴⁴ Gilbert Anglici received some lands and houses inside the city walls from the count of Barcelona and acquired a substantial group of estates cultivated with vines and olives through his deals with the local population as is evident in the documents.⁶⁴⁵

Morera i Llauradó, Miravall and Jaspert have all suggested that Gilbert was indeed the most prominent and perhaps the leader, of the Anglo-Norman community in Tortosa.⁶⁴⁶ This has also been discussed by Virgili, who showed that Gilbert's influence and wealth were so great that he became an important

Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 108v; El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus, ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 50.

⁶⁴³ See Appendix Index.

⁶⁴⁴ See Appendix index for Gilbert Anglici

⁶⁴⁵ Appendix docs. 141, 159, 173, 201, 209.

⁶⁴⁶ Morera i Llauradó, *Tarragona cristiana*, I, 417; Miravall, *Immigració britànica a Tortosa*, 9; Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 98.

business partner of the House of Montcada, one of the most important noble families in the area at the time.⁶⁴⁷ Gilbert did indeed receive enough land and fiefdoms from Ramon Berenguer IV to make him a very wealthy man, as is shown in charters relating to his possessions. Moreover, among the new citizens of Tortosa after its conquest, Gilbert is one of the most common witnesses to the grants by Ramon Berenguer IV and his successors.⁶⁴⁸ Even during the reign of Alfons II of Aragon, he received from the monarch himself a donation of a house inside the city walls for his services and aid in helping to demarcate a street.⁶⁴⁹ Certainly Gilbert by 1160's had become a very wealthy and influential person in Tortosin society.

Gilbert was even able to bequeath property and money to religious institutions like the cathedral of Tortosa, where his brother Theobald was canon, and to religious orders that had started in the Holy Land like the Templars and the Hospitallers.⁶⁵⁰ His ability to give away fiefdoms to these orders not only shows his power, but also suggests, as Jaspert stated, that perhaps as a crusader he felt obliged to support these institutions since he had not reached the Holy Land himself to fulfil his vow.⁶⁵¹ However, the grants of lands to the military orders in Tortosa might not necessarily mean that the Anglo-Normans felt they had not fulfilled their vows. It certainly indicates that the crusader colony became integrated with the larger landowning institutions in the region, both for practical and ideological reasons. However it is apparent that Gilbert identified more with the Cathedral of Tortosa, where his brother

⁶⁴⁷ Appendix: doc. 134; Virgili, *Ad Detrimentum Yspanie*, 233.

⁶⁴⁸ Appendix: doc. 38, 120, 133, 144, 145, 197.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 108.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 156.

⁶⁵¹ Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 99.

Theobald was a canon and with the monastery of Santas Creus, than with other ecclesiastical institutions of Tortosa.⁶⁵² He appears as signatory in 11 documents in the *Llibre Blanch*⁶⁵³ and 7 documents from the cathedral archive.⁶⁵⁴

Of the documents which directly relate to Gilbert, perhaps the most interesting is the testament made by Osbert Anglici when he finally decided to make his trip to the Holy Land in 1166.⁶⁵⁵ This suggests that at least some Anglo-Norman crusaders who had joined the expedition to Tortosa had originally intended to go to Jerusalem, but had been distracted on the way, settling in Tortosa.⁶⁵⁶ Moreover, because of their crusading vows those who died in the battle were buried in the English cemetery which was located close to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which all the crusaders gave to the order of that name, perhaps as Jaspert suggested, to fulfil in a spiritual way their crusading vows.⁶⁵⁷ However, in the case of Osbert Anglici after more than a decade of living comfortably in Tortosa, he decided to fulfil his vows to go to Jerusalem and made testament in case he did not return.⁶⁵⁸ He appointed the most prominent Anglo-Norman settlers, Gerald of Salvagnac or Savigne and Gilbert Anglici as guarantors of his will.⁶⁵⁹

Osbert's case is unique in Tortosa where he was the only one of the

⁶⁵² Appendix: doc. 156.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 100, 106,, 127, 141, 156, 157, 163-165, 180, 190.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., 115, 152, 159, 173, 176, 177, 201.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 115.

⁶⁵⁶ Appendix: doc. 115.

⁶⁵⁷ Jaspert, 'Tortosa and the Crusades', 99.

⁶⁵⁸ Appendix: doc. 115.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibidem.

Anglo-Normans who later specifically planned to go to Jerusalem about whom we know. Yet, it is likely that many from England who settled there had been under a crusading vow. Although they did not go to Jerusalem in the end, they were tended to leave land and property in their new home to the orders, which were created to protect the holy places in the Holy Land, as they also became involved in the crusades in Iberia.

The impact of the Anglo-Norman crusading colony

Certainly, the new Anglo-Norman community played an important part in the Christian settlement of this border town.⁶⁶⁰ The settlement of Tortosa is a well-documented example of the mid-twelfth century attempt by the Christian leaders to destroy the original Islamic settlements by breaking their systems of agriculture and taking hold of their land.⁶⁶¹ The documentation shows how Ramon Berenguer IV rewarded his supporters by allocating large sections of the city and its territories to them at the expense of the Saracen communities. In this the Anglo-Norman settlers played their part as is clearly visible in earlier charters of donation where previous Muslim ownership of the land concerned is directly referred to in grants and later sales of lands or rights.⁶⁶² The formation of a Christian society in the lower valley of the Ebro was not just the result of the northern European involvement in the conquest of the city but of local realities, which existed already in this part of the peninsula, as previous chapters have shown.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶⁰ Virgili, *Ad Detrimentum Yspanie*, 57.

⁶⁶¹ Virgili, 'El monastir de Santas Creus i Tortosa', 35-36; Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism*, 164-165.

⁶⁶² Appendix: docs. 72, 138, 168, 177, 189, 194.

⁶⁶³ Virgili, 'Conqueridos i colons a la frontera', 52; Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism*, 164-165, 233.

However, the formation of this social structure was certainly conducive to integrating the foreign Christian communities like the Anglo-Normans into the local communities. It is clear that although the Anglo-Norman communities were distinct from the other local ones, this did not stop them from interacting in business with the other settlers as charters in which the members of the community appear as witnesses show as they do in other transactions with settlers from other origins.⁶⁶⁴ The Anglo-Normans settlers involved themselves in the local agricultural economy. Many sources mention that they possessed vineyards, olive orchards and fruit trees on their lands.⁶⁶⁵

From the original partition of the city, it is known that the city and its territory were divided among the count, the republic of Genoa and the military orders.⁶⁶⁶ Although Ramon Berenguer IV seemed to have no objections to granting lands and properties to the newcomers, the evidence for the actual donations to Anglo-Normans for the most part dates to at least four to five years after the actual conquest of the city. For the most prominent Anglo-Norman settlers like Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvagnac, there are some comital donations, which date from 1151.⁶⁶⁷ Morera i Lloradó claimed that Geoffrey Anglici received a donation in 1150 from the count in Tortosa. This, however, cannot be proved, because the document he quoted does not actually indicate that it was Geoffrey Anglici, although a later charter seems to

⁶⁶⁴ It is clear in the index of the Appendix the vast number of charters in which Anglo-Norman members of the Tortosan community appeared as guarantors, buyer, sellers, donors, recipients and witnesses.

⁶⁶⁵ See Appendix.

⁶⁶⁶ Morera i Lloradó, *Tarragona Cristiana*, I, 415-416.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 416.

indicate that it was.⁶⁶⁸

An interesting pattern that occurred with the Anglo-Norman community is that most of the settlers seem to have tried to have most of their properties north of the city. The localities of Bitem,⁶⁶⁹ Aldover⁶⁷⁰ and Xerta⁶⁷¹ saw by far the largest concentration of these settlers (See Map 2). This suggests that although these areas were not exclusively settled by Anglo-Normans, the community was keen to maintain a relative unity around a specific zone. However, as is clear from the documents listed in the Appendix, the community was prepared to hold lands in areas outside this region, like Labar and in the city of Tortosa itself, where the count granted parts of the city to these settlers. Moreover the existence of an English cemetery ensured the attraction that the city would have for this particular foreign community, giving it a privileged position in the urban centre.⁶⁷²

This apparent lack of direct comital donations to the Anglo-Normans immediately after the conquest can be explained in several ways. For example, it is possible that the conquest of Lleida in the following year distracted the count. Meanwhile, it is likely that the Anglo-Normans settled down in the area of Remolins, which Caffaro claims they were in charge of

⁶⁶⁸ Morera i Llorado, *Tarragona Cristiana*, I, 417.

⁶⁶⁹ For documents relating to the Anglo-Norman settlers in Bitem see: Appendix: docs. 53, 54, 66, 67, 97, 107, 138, 170, 214, 215, 220, 225.

⁶⁷⁰ For documents relating to the Anglo-Norman settlers in Aldover see: Appendix: docs. 36, 85, 141, 159, 172, 176, 177, 178, 194, 195, 2006, 209.

⁶⁷¹ For documents relating to the Anglo-Norman settlers in Xerta see: Appendix: docs. 76, 98, 119, 128, 153, 164, 169, 173, 175, 177, 189, 193, 198, 201.

⁶⁷² Appendix: doc, 31.

assaulting in the original conquest of the city.⁶⁷³ Or perhaps in Xerta or Aldover where the Anglo-Norman community managed gradually to acquire several estates.⁶⁷⁴ However, it is hard to see how order could have been maintained in these early years if the first Anglo-Norman settlers were not given any official recognition for the lands they colonised.

It might have been the case that some kind of temporary agreement was reached with the crusading fleet which included the Anglo-Normans over the division of spoils and for the early years their verbal or an otherwise lost agreement may have been used as a way to keep the peace. Perhaps Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvagnac as leading members of the community were made guarantors for the Anglo-Norman community while a more lasting arrangement was put in place. On the other hand it is likely that if documents relating to the original donation were awarded by the count to the early settlers in 1150 or 1151, they themselves might have kept them, but they have disappeared from the historical record.⁶⁷⁵ This, of course, would explain the puzzling lack of documents of direct donation from the count to individual settlers in Tortosa apart from the prominent members of the Anglo-Norman community. However this explanation is problematic since it would seem strange that no copies were made for the archives of local institutions like the cathedral and the monasteries. Certainly it is obvious that the virtual non-existence of comital donations to the Anglo-Normans was the result of one or a combination of these eventualities, since it is clear from later evidence that a

⁶⁷³ Appendix: doc. 31.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 94, 200; See note 674.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 33.

vibrant Anglo-Norman community had existed since the early days of the Christian conquest of Tortosa.⁶⁷⁶

Yet, it is hard to imagine how these settlers managed to keep their own identity within the Iberian community for more than a generation, for unlike the Genoese they did not have the support of their overlords at home in England for their venture. It is likely that as time went by they intermarried with the locals and became more and more Iberian and less Anglo-Norman. This is further confirmed in the historical record as the names of Anglo-Normans stop appearing in the first decade of the thirteenth century.⁶⁷⁷ On the other hand, it is likely that other settlers of Iberian origin did not at first mix with the newcomers, something which might have helped to keep the distinct identity of the Anglo-Norman community for at least the lifespan of the original settlers and perhaps the first generation of their children. There are some Anglo-Norman settlers like John Anglici and William Salvagnac who do not start appearing until late in the 1170s. This may indicate that there were some English settlers who came after the original conquest at the request of family members who had made their fortune from the conquest.⁶⁷⁸ However apart from these two, who seem to have been related to other Anglo-Norman settlers, there is little evidence to suggest that there was a continuous influx of

⁶⁷⁶ See Appendix index.

⁶⁷⁷ Appendix: docs. 216-219.

⁶⁷⁸ See Appendix for names like William of Salvagnac and John Anglici which seem to have arrived late and were related to prominent settlers like Gerald Salvagnac and Gilbert Anglici. Also it appears that Jordan and Osbert were brothers. It seems like an interesting pattern, the amount of groups of brothers who came to settle in Tortosa from England. This could be an example of what Riley-Smith notice in relation to power of the kindred relationship in the involvement of certain groups in the crusades. However in the case of Tortosa it is impossible to know how long was the tradition of each individual family. J. Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), 101-105.

settlers from England into Tortosa after 1170. It seems that for the most part the original crusading venture had been the reason for their arrival and the lack of another large crusading enterprises from England until 1189 hampered any further movement of settlers, a theme taken up again in the following chapter.

Tortosa remained a frontier town until 1238 when Jaume I of Aragon conquered Valencia.⁶⁷⁹ An interesting comparison can be made with the cities of the Latin East which in the second half of the twelfth century did not receive a great number of European settlers, partly as a result of the failure of the Second Crusade. However in the case of Tortosa, although the crusade had been a success, its position in the second half of the twelfth century was never precarious enough to encourage the Anglo-Norman community to ask for additional help from their motherland. Other political factors, which will be explored in next chapter, changed the focus of the Iberian rulers like the counts of Barcelona in relation to the *Reconquista*. The most important members of the Anglo-Norman community may have acquired considerable influence in the frontier society. Despite this, their numbers were not large enough to have a lasting impact as a separate group within the local society.

Involvement in the Second Crusade in Iberia represented by far the largest Anglo-Norman contribution the *Reconquista*, since they were deeply involved in both the conquest of Lisbon and Tortosa. However, although the documentation relating to their role is relatively abundant, it is difficult to judge

⁶⁷⁹ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 150-170.

how strong their influence was in encouraging fellow countrymen to take part in other expeditions to Iberia since, except for a reference to Gerald of Hastings coming back to England to encourage Anglo-Normans to settle in Lisbon, there is no reference to contacts, or indeed to calls of help, from the new communities to their compatriots in the homeland.⁶⁸⁰ Moreover, apart from a few expeditions to the Portuguese coast in the early thirteenth century, there are infrequent references to the Anglo-Normans in the Iberian campaigns that follow the Second Crusade. More strikingly, in the great conquests of the early thirteenth century in Iberia after the famous battle of Navas de Tolosa, there are only sporadic mentions of English soldiers or settlers.

⁶⁸⁰ *'Gilebertus episcopus Olisiponis, prædicans in Angliam, plurimos sollicitavit in Hyspaniam proficisci, Ispalim obsessuros et expugnatuos'*. Symeonis Monachi, *Opera omnia*, II, 324.

Chapter V

The decreasing role of Anglo-Normans in the *Reconquista* and its consequences for contacts between England and Iberia

This chapter will explore the decreasing role of Anglo-Norman contingents in Portugal down to the fall of Alcaçer do Sal in 1217. It will also examine how changing political factors in the Anglo-Norman world, with the rise of the Angevin Plantagenet dynasty, started to affect relations between the Iberian kingdoms and the Anglo-Norman realm. The rise of diplomatic contacts between the crowns and the decline of private expeditions to Iberia will also be explored, as part of the formalization of relations with Iberia and the change of interests of both the Iberian and Anglo-Normans monarchs in relation to each other. This chapter will address some questions that have arisen from the events and ideas analysed in previous chapters, regarding the participation of the Anglo-Norman in the wars that occurred from the collapse of the Caliphate of Cordoba to the fall of Seville to King Fernando III of Leon-Castile in 1248. This is without doubt of great importance because Castile and Leon, and to lesser extent Navarre, were important protagonists in the conquests and battles of the *Reconquista*. Other issues will also be examined that might have attracted Normans and Anglo-Normans into the wars of Iberia.

The interest in pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella is perhaps the best known of the interactions between the Anglo-Norman realm and Iberia, thanks to the studies of Lomax, Tate and Storrs.⁶⁸¹ Because of the existence of these, this dissertation will not go into too much detail on this subject but will

⁶⁸¹ Tate, *Pilgrimages to Saint James of Compostella*, 8-12; Storrs, 'Jacobean Pilgrims to St. James', 1-28; D. W. Lomax, *Algunos Peregrinos Ingleses a Santiago de Compostela* (Pamplona, 1970), 159-169.

examine the theme from the perspective of the many military expeditions that stopped at Saint James on their way to the Holy Land.

Henry II and the rise of the 'Angevin Empire'

In 1154 after the long period of political instability that had characterized the reign of Stephen, explored in the previous chapter, a new monarch came to the throne in England, Henry II, the son of Empress Matilda and Count Geoffrey of Anjou. The rise to power of the first Angevin monarch had important consequences for the political situation in England, which have been well documented in recent decades.⁶⁸² His ascension to power had important repercussions for Anglo-Norman involvement in Iberia and relations between Anglo-Norman domains and the Iberian realms. Perhaps Henry II's greatest achievement in comparison with his predecessor in England was to restore royal power over the kingdom at the expense of the higher nobility, who had used the period of disintegration to increase their domains and power.⁶⁸³ Henry's long reign also saw disputes with the church, which culminated in the assassination of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury, and with his wife and children that had serious political repercussions.

The increase in his possessions in France made Henry II the greatest landholder in that country, expanding his power in relation to the French

⁶⁸² Warren, *Henry II*, 4-204; Barber, *Henry Plantagenet*, 81-123; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire* (Oxford, 2000), 4-30; Goodman, 'England and Iberia', 73-96.

⁶⁸³ Warren addressed the problems of Henry II's early relations with the nobility and the Church and how his administration managed to centralize to some degree the rule of his vast lands. Warren, *Henry II*, 54-204.

monarch, a situation that was to cause many disputes in future decades.⁶⁸⁴

However, his acquisition of the duchy of Aquitaine was perhaps the single most important event of his reign, especially for the main focus of this thesis.

The dukes of Aquitaine, had been deeply involved in the conflicts and disputes of their Iberian neighbours, both with the Muslims as well as with other Christian powers, since long before the first Norman Christians arrived in Iberia.⁶⁸⁵ As has already been noted, the inclusion of the rich and well-connected duchy of Aquitaine within the Anglo-Norman or Plantagenet realms changed the perception of the crown in relation to the Iberian kingdoms.⁶⁸⁶ The Iberian *Reconquista* no longer represented a far-away conflict with crusading inspiration reserved for adventurers and crusaders from the nobility and the rising merchants. Instead it became a conflict that could attract the interest of the royal household as the Iberian sphere of influence became an important area of possible alliances against the growing number of enemies that arose against Henry. Although the *Reconquista* was not seen as a pressing necessity in which to get involved for the English monarch, taking an interest in it was a way to bring the Iberian rulers to his side. The kingdoms of Aragon, Navarre and Castile became important potential allies in disputes with the king of France who was not particularly pleased with the rising power of his Plantagenet vassal.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁴ Warren, *Henry II*, 362-396; D. Power, 'Angevin Normandy', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (London, 2002), 63-68.

⁶⁸⁵ See Chapters 2 and 3; Boissonade, 'Les premières croisades français en Espagne', 5-28; Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 155-166.

⁶⁸⁶ Goodman, 'England and Iberia', 74.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 76-78.

This change in perspective of the Iberian realms towards the Anglo-Norman domains is clearly visible in the growing number of references to events in the Iberian peninsula in the chronicles of the reign of Henry II and his sons. The last twenty years of the twelfth century was a golden age for English chronicles. Many writers discussed other areas of Europe (i.e Italy, Germany, the Latin East and Scandinavia) aside from those directly related to the Anglo-Norman domains.⁶⁸⁸ Both clerical and secular narratives written during this period recorded the most important events occurring in the different Christian kingdoms in the peninsula, even if they did not directly touch on England or Normandy, and they even recorded some events that took place in areas dominated by Muslims. For example, Ralph of Diceto, who was a well-connected clerk in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I and witness to many important events involving these two monarchs, troubled to mention the council of Toledo of 603 in his great work *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*,⁶⁸⁹ although it was hardly related to English history. His work was an attempt to encompass the history of the known world, hence this council was relevant to his enterprise. Other more recent Iberian events were also recorded by Ralph, such as the assassination of Archbishop Hugo of Tarragona in 1171.⁶⁹⁰ The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, the authorship of which is still disputed, also has a few references to Iberian events which were unrelated to England or Normandy and which were part of the wars of reconquest, or the

⁶⁸⁸ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550- to c. 1307* (London, 1974), 219-231.

⁶⁸⁹ *RDO*, I, 105; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 230-232.

⁶⁹⁰ Ralph of Diceto did not actually gave the name of the Tarragonese prelate and did not explain that the deed had been accomplished by the sons of Robert Burdet, which the Iberian chronicles such as that of Zurita did (*AnCA*, II, 93). Although for this event there was the very tenuous connection that the perpetrators were the descendents of a Norman adventurer, Diceto was probably unaware of the fact and only mentioned it as a comparison to the assassination of Thomas Becket which occurred a few months earlier. *RDO*, I, 105.

Iberian crusades.⁶⁹¹ For example it mentions that in the same year, 1171, the Almohads invaded the Taifas of Valencia and Murcia and also entered Castile.⁶⁹²

Robert of Torigni's work also notes Iberian events, which could be considered as not directly related to his region (he was abbot of Mont Saint-Michel in western Normandy). Robert borrowed directly from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and was able to interpolate the news of the victories and defeats and some general occurrences in the Iberian peninsula from eyewitnesses and from other unknown written sources.⁶⁹³ Although Robert's approach to historical material was far from sophisticated and he hardly questioned the sources he used, the Iberian events do seem to relate directly to real events that are mentioned by Iberian sources. He makes reference, for instance, to the conquest of Lisbon and Almeria in the Second Crusade, the marriage of Louis VII with the daughter of Alfonso VII in 1153/4, the pilgrimage of Louis VII to Saint James in 1154, the reconquest of Almeria by the Muslims in 1157, the death of Ramon Berenguer IV in 1162, the Council of Tours in 1163 where many Spanish prelates were present and the Almohad invasion of Iberia in 1170.⁶⁹⁴ Many other chroniclers also record events in the peninsula that were not directly related to the Anglo-Norman realms apart from obvious interaction between the Iberian monarchs and

⁶⁹¹ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 222-230; D. M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', *EHR*, LXVIII (1943), 574-582.

⁶⁹² *GRH*, I, 23-24.

⁶⁹³ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 199-200.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 260-263; *RTC*, IV, 155, 178, 182, 193, 219-220, 249.

English ones and the contribution of Anglo-Norman crusaders in the campaigns of reconquest.⁶⁹⁵

The first Iberian realm to be in direct contact with the new Anglo-Norman ruler was the crown of Aragon under the ageing Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, prince regent of Aragon. His interests in the Languedoc region of France made him an important ally of Henry II in his attempt to force the count of Toulouse to perform homage for his lands, a conflict that had existed between the dukes of Aquitaine and the counts of Toulouse since before the acquisition of the duchy by Henry II.⁶⁹⁶ These wars, although unrelated to the Iberian reconquest, showed Henry the importance of the Iberian realms and their potential in relation to his own interests in southern France. To strengthen this relationship with the Iberian count, Henry, offered to marry one of his sons, Richard, to Ramon Berenguer IV's daughter.⁶⁹⁷ Although the marriage never took place, Henry continued to strengthen his relations with the Iberian kingdoms, as will be explained below.

Henry II's crusading credentials throughout his reign were far from exemplary. Like his grandson Henry III in the following century, Henry II used the idea of launching a crusade as a political tool to defuse his enemies' aggressive intentions. According to Tyerman, Henry II never really intended to

⁶⁹⁵ *RHC*, 120-131; Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, II, ed. H. G. Howlett (London, 1887), 226; *RDO*, I, 334, 415, 418-420; *GRH*, I, 36, 131-132, 138-157, 212-213; *RTC*, IV, 205, 215, 247.256. 303, 310-311.

⁶⁹⁶ *Gesta Comitum Barcinonesium*, 13-14; To see the background in: Barber, *Henry Plantagenet*, 94-95; Warren, *Henry II*, 82-91; J. Martindale, 'An Unfinished Business: Angevin Politics in the Siege of Toulouse, 1159', *ANS*, XXIII (2000), 115-120; C. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, c.1000-c.1250* (Woodbridge, 2005), 149.

⁶⁹⁷ *RTC*, I, 149-155; *AnCA*, II, 56.

take the cross to go to the Holy Land, but used his supposed intentions to stop the French king's attempts to control him on many occasions and as a way to get the church on his side.⁶⁹⁸ However, Henry's family relationship with the royal family of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem made him into a powerful would-be crusader to whom many of the desperate appeals from the Latin East were made.⁶⁹⁹ For this reason, it is also likely that Iberian monarchs like Alfonso VIII of Castile and Ramon Berenguer IV of Aragon-Barcelona saw him as a potential ally in the wars of reconquest, or at least a deterrent to stop the rising menace of the Almohads. They might also have been inclined to use their friendship with the English king as a way to threaten each other in their local disputes.

Although Henry never actually went to the Holy Land or to Spain, both crusading areas were constantly discussed in his court as a potential theatre for his would-be involvement as part of his penance for the murder of Thomas Becket.⁷⁰⁰ His crusade never took place because his disputes with his French overlord always seemed to get in the way. But his interest in Iberia shows that the Almohad invasion was considered a clear threat to his domains and his participation could have been seen as a legitimate delay to his involvement in a crusading venture to the Latin East. Although Henry never went to Iberia, it

⁶⁹⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 36-43; H. E. Mayer, 'Henry II of England and the Holy Land', *EHR*, XCVII (1982), 721-739.

⁶⁹⁹ Henry II's grandfather Fulk V of Anjou had gone to the Holy Land in the first half of the twelfth century and had been married to the heiress, Melisende. Jotischky, *Crusading*, 74-76.

⁷⁰⁰ 'The Settlement of and 'Compromise' of Avranches', in *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, I, eds. D. E. Whitelock and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), 947.

showed the growing interest of the Anglo-Norman crown in the crusading affairs of the peninsula.

The shrine of Saint James was named as a place Henry was supposed to visit to get remission for his sins, especially for his part in the assassination of Thomas Becket.⁷⁰¹ Henry entertained the idea of such a pilgrimage and even asked for the permission of King Fernando II of Leon for passage through his kingdom.⁷⁰² However, despite his promises to go to the Holy Land and Iberia, Henry never seems to have intended to leave on these expeditions.⁷⁰³

Although these plans of Henry never materialized, his vassals saw the potential of these expeditions in order to gain indulgences or wealth. Throughout the thirty-six years of his reign, knights and merchants participated in military ventures with crusading status and of those a number went to Iberia. Perhaps the newly established diplomatic contacts helped to strengthen the involvement. As envoys were sent from Iberia to England, tales of valour and wealth travelled back and forth inspiring would-be participants to go or at least making them aware of the Iberian struggle and its potential. However, it is more likely that the obligatory passage around Spain *en route* to the Holy Land, allowed the possibility of involvement in local disputes against the infidels. Therefore of all the Iberian kingdoms, Portugal was the most likely

⁷⁰¹ 'The Settlement of and 'Compromise' of Avranches', 947.

⁷⁰² *RTC*, IV, 256; *RHC*, II, 33.

⁷⁰³ Lomax, *Algunos peregrinos ingleses a Santiago*, 161-162; Duggan, 'Henry II's Penance for Becket's Murder', 257.

beneficiary of expeditions the original aim of which was the Holy Land, as will now be analysed.

The continuation of the Portuguese reconquest (1150-1217)

In the years that followed the fall of Lisbon to the crusaders of 1147, many continued travelling by sea to the Holy Land, and the Atlantic ports of the Iberian peninsula became a regular stopping point. This was despite the fact that the failure of the Second Crusade in the Holy Land had been an important blow to the morale of western crusaders.⁷⁰⁴ The Portuguese monarchs were perhaps aware that the success of the conquest of Lisbon was largely due to the contribution of these crusaders, so to accomplish their own expansionist policies south toward the last Moorish enclaves in the Algarve region they were happy to attract the attention of crusaders.⁷⁰⁵

The continental expansion of Portugal was indeed an aim of its kings, whose Christian rival Leon, and later Castile-Leon, were always competing for territories in the Moorish lands and whose superior resources made them difficult opponents.⁷⁰⁶ The Portuguese thus welcomed foreign aid for this purpose, although it did not always arrive in good time and sometimes resulted in awkward situations, as will be seen later in this section. Among those northern crusaders were Anglo-Normans and many other groups like the Gascons, who were under the over-lordship of the Angevin monarchs (Henry II, Richard I and John). Among many expeditions, only four resulted in

⁷⁰⁴ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 58-60.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibidem.

⁷⁰⁶ Livermore, *A History of Portugal*, 61-80; Peres and Cerdeira ed.. *História de Portugal*, 110-112.

reports of Anglo-Norman participation (Alvor 1189, Silves 1190, the Third Crusade 1191 and Alcazer do Sal 1217), although they never reached the scale and prominence of the conquest of Lisbon. As the twelfth century ended, the involvement of Anglo-Normans on the western side of the peninsula started to subside with the completion of Portuguese coastal expansion.⁷⁰⁷

The first noticeable contribution by individuals from the British Isles that we must note here was led by Regnvald of Orkney, a failed attempt to take Alcazer do Sal in 1158 which is described in the *Orkneyinga Saga*.⁷⁰⁸ Although he was not an Anglo-Norman it shows the continuation of northern Europeans' interest in Iberia that was accentuated by the preaching of crusade in Portugal, which the English bishop of Lisbon, Gilbert of Hastings, may have undertaken in his trip to Britain in the early 1150s.⁷⁰⁹ However, during Henry II's reign the participation of Anglo-Normans declined, perhaps due to the failure of the Second Crusade to achieve any substantial conquest in the Latin East. This diminished the interest of westerners from northern Europe in crusading to the Holy Land and, indirectly perhaps, caused the decline in the number of Anglo-Normans travelling to Portugal.

Certainly, the Anglo-Norman upper and lower nobilities took less interest in the affairs of the Latin East along with the rest of western Europe,

⁷⁰⁷ Livermore. *A History of Portugal*, 98.

⁷⁰⁸ 'Narratio de itinere navali pregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientum A.D. 1189', ed C.W. David, *PAPS*, LXXXI (1939), 594; 'Orkneyinga Saga', eds. G. Vigfusson and G.W. Dasent, in *Icelandic Sagas and Other Documents Relating to the Settlement and Descent of the Northmen on the British Isles*, I (London 1894), 159-179; E. Florez ed., 'Chronicon Conimbricense', *ES*, XXIII (Madrid, 1799), 332.

⁷⁰⁹ Symeonis Monachi, *Opera omnia*, II, 324.

during the period between the Second and Third crusades.⁷¹⁰ It is important to notice that political conditions in Iberia also changed, making it more difficult for any foreigner to contribute to expeditions against the Moors, as these were reduced to sporadic raids. This was because conflicts among the Christian powers distracted them from launching any important offensive.

The division of Leon and Castile weakened this most powerful of kingdoms in the peninsula and the problems between Leon and Portugal also helped to change to a lesser degree the policy of expansion southwards started by Alfonso Henriques I.⁷¹¹ Navarre, which by this date had ceased to have an important role in the reconquest because it lacked a boundary with the Muslim frontier, was kept busy by disputes with Castile. The crown of Aragon became alarmed by the complicate political and religious disputes in Southern France. Because of these changing political circumstances the Iberian reconquest also slowed down during this period. However, although these factors conspired to decrease the interest of the Iberian rulers in launching expeditions against the Muslim territories, the push for the acquisition of lands under Muslim control did not die completely. The Church remained active in trying to encourage secular powers to start new expansionist endeavours in al-Andalus. An example of this was the Synod of Segovia held in 1166 in which the prelates promised remission of sins of the same kind as that for those going to Jerusalem to defenders of the Christian territories in Iberia and more specifically Castile.⁷¹² Furthermore some

⁷¹⁰ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 104-107.

⁷¹¹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 50-61; Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 91-93, 94-106; Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, I, 63-65.

⁷¹² P. Linehan, 'The Synod of Segovia of 1166', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, X (1980), 35.

attempts were made to conquer new territories during this period, but their success was relatively limited in comparison with those accomplished during the Second Crusade and earlier, for reasons explored above. On the other hand it was during this period of relatively small-scale raids across the Muslim-Christian frontier that the Iberian version of the military orders started to rise in importance, perhaps as a result of the relative lack of initiative of the Iberian rulers.

The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 after the masterful victory of Saladin at the Horns of Hattin changed everything.⁷¹³ This event affected the morale of Christian Europe more than the fall of Edessa had in its own day. Jerusalem, the site of the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, was of immense symbolic value to Christians and its fall to the infidels was so devastating that it sent shockwaves across the western world, encouraging public support for a new venture to recapture the holy city.⁷¹⁴ Crusading fervour rose once again in Europe after almost forty years of modest interest. Pope Gregory VIII bowed to public opinion and issued a crusading encyclical *Audita tremendi* to encourage the formation of a new crusading venture in the west.⁷¹⁵ Although the original call for crusade was made in 1187, it took three years for the official crusade to reach to Holy Land.

In the Iberian theatre the news of the fall of Jerusalem was received with anxiety as the Almohads had been moderately successful in uniting

⁷¹³ Richard, *The Crusades*, 216-217.

⁷¹⁴ Lloyd, 'The Crusading Movement 1096-1274', 45.

⁷¹⁵ *Patrologiæ cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1855), CCII, 1539-1542; Gregory VIII, 'Audita tremendi', in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. E. Hallam (Godalming, 1997), 162.

Muslim Spain and had been able to reverse some earlier Christian advances. In 1188 Gregory VIII's successor Clement III gave remission of sins to those who took part in expeditions against the Muslims in Spain as his predecessor Eugenius III had done four decades earlier.⁷¹⁶ Moreover he allowed the Iberian rulers to break any truces they had with the Muslims and launch an offensive against Islam.⁷¹⁷ This made the Iberian expeditions during the period of the Third Crusade, at least from a legal point of view, effectively crusades.⁷¹⁸ Despite this, truces with the Muslims were generally respected and although Clement III forbade them, they continued to be respected by both sides.⁷¹⁹ Interestingly, he even exhorted the clergy to provide financial support to the crusade being planned to recuperate Jerusalem. The lack of initiative of the Christian Iberian rulers with regards to the *Reconquista* was seen as a consequence of the sinful behaviour of its rulers in their mutual disputes, deemed deplorable by the papacy.⁷²⁰

The pressure on the western European rulers was such that even the reluctant Henry II, with all his disputes with his sons and the king of France, was prepared to take the crusading vow.⁷²¹ Only his death in 1189 actually stopped him from undertaking the trip. Richard I 'Cœur de Leon', Henry's son and successor, took the vow also and went on the crusade. However, because of logistical problems Richard's expedition did not start until 1190. This was too long a wait for many devoted Christians in the west who took

⁷¹⁶ Robinson, 'The Papacy 1122-1198', 347; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 57.

⁷¹⁷ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 98.

⁷¹⁸ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 57.

⁷¹⁹ Catlos, *Victors and Vanquished*, 74.

⁷²⁰ 'Anales Toledanos I', in *ES*, XXIII (Madrid, 1799), 393, 394.

⁷²¹ Barber, *Henry Plantagenet*, 223-225.

their crusading vow after hearing the news of the fall of the holy city and, perhaps even before hearing about Gregory VIII's crusading encyclical *Audita tremendi*.⁷²² These smaller groups travelled to the Holy Land by sea rounding the Iberian peninsula and perhaps stopping at Lisbon for supplies. Some of these enterprises, inspired by this new wave of crusading fervour, were the ones which helped the Portuguese conquer the cities of Alvor and Silves.

Their conquests like the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 were recorded in a northern chronicle, reflecting the importance of northern crusaders in these expeditions.⁷²³ As was the case in the Second Crusade, Portuguese sources like the *Chronicle of Goths* did not mention the fall of Silves to the Christians or that the Portuguese owed anything to the foreigners for their support. Perhaps this indicates that the common antagonism of the northern crusaders towards the Portuguese, noted in previous chapters for their supposed lack of initiative, may have been based on their own view of events. To the Portuguese, as Christians of the peninsula, the conquest of a fort or a city represented a step in the continuous struggle against Islam. It also needed to be addressed with a more sophisticated plan to maintain that conquest after the foreign crusaders were gone. This was especially the case since, as demonstrated earlier, to the Christian kings of the peninsula the conquest of cities had to be followed by a clear policy of settlement. This was not the case for northern crusaders like the Normans and Anglo-Normans who had more short term objectives of fulfilling their crusading vows and in some cases of

⁷²² Robinson, 'The Papacy 1122-1198', 343.

⁷²³ "Narratio de itinere navali pregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientum A.D. 1189", 591-676; *RDO*, II, 65-66.

taking plunder.⁷²⁴ The Moorish sources, which were relatively silent about the fall of Lisbon four decades earlier, are very vivid in describing the horrific treatment of the inhabitants of Silves after it finally fell to the crusader forces.⁷²⁵ The main chronicle for the conquest of Alvor and Silves was edited by David in 1939 with the title: *Narratio de itinere navali peregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientium*.⁷²⁶ According to David's analysis, this was written by a German participant of the expedition and it contains a detailed narration of the conquest of the Portuguese city.

However, this chronicle says little about Anglo-Norman involvement, emphasising instead German and Flemish roles in the siege. For Anglo-Norman participation, we must rely on the more general chronicle of Ralph of Diceto. He was keen to show the role played by his fellow Anglo-Norman countryman in this phase of the Third Crusade.⁷²⁷ Ralph was a cleric from Diss in Norfolk who may have studied in the University of Paris in the 1140s. He became dean of Saint Paul's in 1181 and held this position until his death in 1201.⁷²⁸ Ralph wrote many historical works, but the one relevant to the conquest of Silves and Alvor is known as *Ymagenes Historiarum*. According to Gransden it borrowed heavily from Robert of Torigni's chronicle until 1183, but is more or less original from that date onwards.⁷²⁹ This is important since the conquest of Silves occurred in 1189. The only problem that might be evident in

⁷²⁴ R. I. Burns, 'Immigrants from Islam: The Crusaders' Use of Muslims as Settlers in thirteenth century Spain', *AHR*, LXXX (1975), 24-34.

⁷²⁵ Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, II, eds. Le Baron de Slane and P. Casanova (Paris, 1982), 212-213; *El Anónimo de Madrid y Copenhague*, ed. A. Huici (Valencia, 1917), 114.

⁷²⁶ 'Narratio de itinere navali peregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientium A.D. 1189', 591-676.

⁷²⁷ *RDO*, II, 65-66.

⁷²⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 230.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 231.

his account with regards to Silves might be Ralph's very logical partiality in relation to the Anglo-Normans in the siege and conquest, in comparison with the other nationalities that were present. This may have resulted not only from his own bias but that of his sources who could have been Londoners involved in the expedition. However, Ralph does not reveal the source for this episode, making it difficult to have a clear view of who or what might have influenced his interpretation of events. It is likely, however, that being from East Anglia, he was acquainted with veterans from the conquests of Lisbon and Tortosa. For this reason he might have been more keen to represent their experiences.⁷³⁰

It seems that the Anglo-Norman fleet left Dartmouth around 15 June 1189, with a fleet of 37 boats and arrived in Lisbon on 3 July.⁷³¹ According to Ralph of Diceto, King Sancho I of Portugal asked the English crusaders to help him conquer Silves from the Saracens.⁷³² The Frisian and German fleets had already arrived in Portugal in different waves and one of them had sacked the castle and village of Alcovar a few miles from Silves itself. The sack of this coastal fortification was seen as a preamble to the assault on Silves, which was launched just a few days after by a new wave of northern crusaders made up of Anglo-Normans, Normans, Frisians and Germans. This certainly shows that the crusaders from the Anglo-Norman domains were not prepared to wait for Richard's crusading expedition to be launched. According to both the

⁷³⁰ Some of the main texts of the Third Crusade do not bother to mention the events that occurred while the Anglo-Norman navy travelled from England and Normandy to southern France to meet with Richard in southern France. *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. H. J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), 149.

⁷³¹ 'Narratio de itinere navali pregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientum A.D. 1189', 591-676; *RDO*, II, 65.

⁷³² *Ibidem*.

German and English sources the city was very strongly fortified and was only conquered after a long siege.⁷³³

This Anglo-Norman contribution can be interpreted in different ways. It could be argued that the campaign was perceived to be part of the crusade itself and, in the eyes of the participants, there was no necessity to rush to the Holy Land. One could argue that those involved were therefore eager to fulfil their vows in any theatre of war, not necessarily in the Holy Land.⁷³⁴ Moreover, as it has been shown the papacy had continuously produced bulls in which the struggle in Iberia was given the same status as a form of Holy War as the crusades in the East. It could also be argued however, that the greed of the participants or the real need of the crusaders for resources, seeing such a rich city as Silves, made them forget or put on hold their vows to travel to the Holy Land.

Materialistic motivations were certainly very important to the participants of this expedition; as Housley has noted, due to the absence of important aristocratic figures, they were in need of resources to be successful in their military pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁷³⁵ This venture was already perceived as a suitable Christian cause and as a legitimate deviation from the trip to Jerusalem. Moreover, it is likely that those involved, both from the Anglo-Norman domains and from other parts of northern Europe, were aware that if they failed in the Holy Land, like their counterparts in the Second

⁷³³ RDO, II, 65; 'Narratio de itinere navali pregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientum A.D. 1189', 591-676.

⁷³⁴ Tyerman, *England the Crusades*, 136-139.

⁷³⁵ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 107.

Crusade, they could at least claim that they had expanded the frontiers of Christendom in a legitimate area of crusading. Henry of Huntingdon had commented on the fall of Lisbon, that those who had taken part in the siege were more worthy than the crusaders that actually reached the Holy Land.⁷³⁶ It is therefore not unlikely that the success of the conquest of Lisbon forty years earlier became in some sense, a symbol of pride for the Anglo-Norman crusaders, especially since the crusade of the kings had been such an unmitigated failure.⁷³⁷

The very common combination of religious fervour and material greed played a pivotal role in the final surrender of Silves in September 1189. On this occasion the northern crusaders, who included the Anglo-Norman contingent, refused to allow the Muslims to leave with their valuables as Sancho I of Portugal had agreed; a recurring theme of the foreign contribution in the Iberian wars.⁷³⁸ The difference in the aims of both the local Iberian crusaders and that of their non-Iberian counterparts always caused trouble for the Iberian rulers, who on many occasions had to condone the desire for plunder held by crusaders from the northern Europe.

Unlike the conquest of Lisbon, in this campaign the military Order of the Temple was deeply involved, an important factor that might have encouraged participation from many crusaders, perhaps uneasy about staying too long in

⁷³⁶ HA, 753.

⁷³⁷ Ibidem.

⁷³⁸ These kinds of disagreements have been examined in previous chapters as recurring events of the relations between the Christians of the peninsula and their northern allies, including for the content of this thesis, the Normans and Anglo-Normans. These represented the clash of interests that existed between the two when a city was conquered. Linehan, 'At the Spanish Frontier', 37-59.

Iberia while the situation in the Holy Land was so desperate. The Templars by the time of the conquest of Silves had become an important force in the *Reconquista*, as the Iberian form of crusading was becoming more and more often equated with the wars in the Holy Land as a legitimate objective for the acquisition of crusading indulgences.⁷³⁹ The lavish bequests, especially by the Portuguese and Aragonese monarchs, had perhaps also ensured that this military order, together with that of the Hospital, which had originally been created for the protection of the Holy Land, were going to be obliged to use their Iberian resources specifically for Iberian campaigns.⁷⁴⁰ The involvement of the military orders, whose crusading credentials were well known across Europe by this date created an impression of legitimacy for the expedition, although the pope gave no direct bull of indulgence for it.

The events of the siege were described by a German from a Teutonic perspective.⁷⁴¹ The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* also gives an account of the siege, although much more brief than those of either Ralph of Diceto or the *Narratio intinere*. According to the *Gesta Regis*, the English contingent joined in with other crusading armies that were besieging the city of Silves, which is

⁷³⁹ As explored on chapter 3, since the pontificate Gelasius II, the Iberian *Reconquista* was addressed as a legitimate area where Christian knights could receive indulgences for their military actions against Islam. Moreover, by the end of the twelfth century, the involvement of Christian knights from different parts of Europe in the Iberian struggle had become common. Foray, *The Military Orders*, 23-26.

⁷⁴⁰ To further explore the process in which the Iberian monarchs granted land to the eastern military orders see: H. J. A. Sire, 'The Charter of the Hospitallers in Spain in the Middle Ages', in *The Military Orders*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), 25-27; Forey, *The Military Orders*, 23-32; P. Gomes Barbosa, J.M. Varandas and A. Vicente, 'Propriedades das ordens militares na Estremadura central', *As ordens militares em Portugal* (Palmela, 1991), 91-98; Marquis d'Albon, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple* (Paris, 1913), docs. 33, 314.

⁷⁴¹ 'Narratio de intinere navali pregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientum A.D. 1189', 591-676.

described as being splendidly fortified.⁷⁴² According to Ralph of Diceto the city fell in September after a difficult siege. The *Narratio itinere* records that the Moorish inhabitants were starved in order to capture the city and, as explained previously, the city was taken by storm and its garrison and population butchered, to the dissatisfaction of the Portuguese monarch who had been unable to persuade the crusaders to curb their desire for revenge against the infidels.⁷⁴³

The aftermath of the conquest of Silves however, is also obscure in terms of repopulation. Apart from a certain Flemish individual who was made bishop of the city, there was apparently little settlement by the northern crusaders. The lack of evidence for this might be the result of the fact that Silves was a relatively ephemeral conquest, as the Almohad Caliph Yasuf bin abd al-Rahman managed to reconquer the city in 1190.⁷⁴⁴ It is important also to note that the chronicles do say that the majority of the crusaders continued on their way to the Holy Land as soon as the city was conquered, except for a few, such as Bishop Nicolas the Fleming.

However, as the first wave of crusaders left for the Holy Land, a new army arrived in Portugal. This was the official fleet of Richard I of England, sailing from England and Normandy around Spain to meet with the king himself in southern France, before continuing on their way to Jerusalem.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴² *GRH*, II 89-90; 'Narratio de itinere navali pregrinorum hierosolyman tendentium et Silviam capientum A.D. 1189', 617-619.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, 629-630.

⁷⁴⁴ Al-Hulal al Mawsiyya, *Crónica Árabe de las dinastías Almorávides, Almohade y Benimerín*, trans. A. Huici Miranda (Tetuán, 1951), 188.

⁷⁴⁵ *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 149-150.

However, as discussed above, all crusaders travelling to the Holy Land by sea from northern Europe stopped in Portugal for provisions. Although a few months earlier Sancho was keen to use these fresh troops for his own plans, their arrival coincided with a retaliatory campaign launched by the Almohad Caliph Yasuf bin abd al-Rahman.

The caliph attacked Santarem as his first and most daring attempt to push back the advances made by Sancho I's predecessor in the western peninsula in 1190.⁷⁴⁶ Fortunately for Sancho, the English fleet arrived around the same time and he convinced a group of Anglo-Norman crusaders to help him defend the city.⁷⁴⁷ The main two sources for this brief involvement of Anglo-Normans in Portugal are the *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, incorporated into the *Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough* and the *Chronicle of Roger of Howden*. These two chronicles are closely linked. This is especially apparent in the passages used in this section, where the similarities in the narratives make them almost identical.⁷⁴⁸ According to Gransden, Roger of Howden, in his chronicle for the years between 1177 and 1192, copied his material from *Gesta Regis Henrici secundi* adding only a little material and summarising some sections. This is very evident in the section relating to the passage of the English fleet through Portugal:⁷⁴⁹

Then Baioc Al-Miramolin, emperor of Morocco and Saracen Spain, sent to form a great army and came to the land of King Sancho (I) of Portugal, vanquisher of his own motherland of Morocco, six years

⁷⁴⁶ Al-Hulal al Mawsiyya, *Crónica Árabe de las dinastías*, 188.

⁷⁴⁷ Livermore. *A History of Portugal*, 98.

⁷⁴⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 222-227; Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', 574-587.

⁷⁴⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 226.

immediately before his predecessor had died in the siege of the castle of Santarem, a castle of King Afonso Henriques, the father of the foresaid Sancho king of Portugal. Therefore the citizens of Silves, fearful of the advance of the emperor of Morocco did not allow the London young men to go away, but they dismantled their ships and used the wooden beams to fortify the city, promises and all sorts of securities were given, that the good king of Portugal would pay them the debts that were owed and pay them back for the loss of their own ships. And this was so and the king of Portugal gave them back a ship and repaid the debt...⁷⁵⁰

In the same year (1191), Bayoc, the Emir Animoli, the emperor of Africa, who in the previous year had entered the territory of the king of Portugal with a large army and had taken a castle called Torrenova and laid siege to a castle called Thomar and abandoned them both to the Christians, through fear of the pilgrims, who had come in the fleet of the king of England and who, taking flight [Animoli] pretended that he was dead, as already mentioned, after all the fleet of the king of England had passed by, assembled a large army and again entered the territories of the king of Portugal and took by storm the cities of Silves, Alcaz, Alamada and Palmella and laid waste to the territories of the Christians...⁷⁵¹

The two chronicles focus closely on royal policy and the machinations of government, as Gransden pointed out. In this case, the two chroniclers are keen to mention the structure of command of the crusader fleets. Although for the most part both are relatively upbeat about the deeds of the crusaders, they were objective enough to criticise the crusaders' behaviour in Lisbon, as will be seen later.

⁷⁵⁰ 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', *GRH*, II, 115-121.

⁷⁵¹ *RHC*, III, 175; Roger of Howden, *Annals*, II, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1853), 262-263.

According to both the *Gesta Regis Ricardi* and Roger of Howden's *Chronicle* a ship from London carrying among others a certain William, son of Osbert and a Geoffrey Aurifaber, was persuaded by the settlers of Silves to stay and defend the city with the promise that the Portuguese monarch would pay them back.⁷⁵² For this crusading expedition, the author of *Gesta Regis Ricardi* produced a very detail account of the events and participants who were involved in this digression of the Third Crusade.⁷⁵³ It seems that Richard's fleet arrived in Portugal in different stages during 1190 from the late spring to the later summer. One of these contingents, which arrived in June, arrived as the Almohads had launched a campaign of reconquest against the Christians on the banks of the River Tagus. Sancho invited this group, which is sometimes identified as one led by Richard Camvill and Robert of Sablé, to help him defend the fortress of Torres Nuevas and later Santarem, which the crusaders seem to have accepted without hesitation, even though they were required to dismantle their boats to improve the fortifications.⁷⁵⁴

Richard of Camville (d. 1191) was the son of Richard of Camville (d. 1176) and brother of Gerald of Camville (1214). He inherited his father's land in Stratton and his mother's possessions in Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. He was active in the service of Henry II and when Richard I came to the throne he also became a fervent supporter of the new monarch attending his coronation

⁷⁵² *RHC*, III, 43; *CMJ*, II, 366; 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', 117.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, 117-121.

⁷⁵⁴ 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', *GRH*, II, 118-119.

in 1189. Perhaps for his loyalty Richard chose him as one of the leaders of his fleet.⁷⁵⁵

Robert de Sablé was a nobleman from Anjou who in 1191 was chosen to be Master of the Order of the Temple during the Third Crusade. He came from a lineage of quarrelsome lords who had fiefs in the regions of Saint Loup, Saint Brice, Molespine and Brion in Anjou. Robert IV of Sable inherited his domains some time before 1163. He was a relatively pious man who apart from being a careful administrator of his large domains gave substantial concessions to the local clergy.⁷⁵⁶ As his ancestors had done he rebelled against his lord in 1173 when he joined the revolt of young Henry against Henry II. The rebellion was a failure and he had to do a liege homage to Henry II in exchange for a royal pardon for his involvement. There is some material regarding his departure for the Holy Land as part of Richard I's crusading fleet which M. Barber discussed in his thesis.⁷⁵⁷ Also, it seems that his standing in Anjou, was perhaps the reason Richard chose him among others to lead his fleet around Iberia into the Mediterranean. Even after his inability to control the volatile English fleet at Lisbon, Robert of Sablé continued to be in favour with the king when the fleet joined him at Medina.⁷⁵⁸ Despite this, Richard Camville

⁷⁵⁵ After the events in Portugal he continued to command the Angevin fleet until he met again with the king in Marseilles. He travelled with the king to the Holy Land appearing in all the important events of Richard's trip to the Holy Land. He was chosen Governor of Cyprus with Robert of Thornhard. He died in June 1191 at Acre. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, IX (Oxford, 2004), 969.

⁷⁵⁶ J. Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils* (Paris 1938), doc. 7

⁷⁵⁷ M. Barber, 'The Grand Masters of the Order of the Temple', PhD Thesis (Nottingham, 1968), 134-150.

⁷⁵⁸ Robert of Sablé was involved in many of Richard's entanglements in Sicily and Cyprus, but seems to have returned his command of the fleet back to Richard for the remainder of the trip. He seems to have been chosen Master of the Order in 1191 after the siege of Acre and as Grand Master was involved in all the great battles and political manoeuvres that took place during the crusade in Palestine. He was responsible for selling Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan in

and Robert of Sablé were instrumental in arranging the truce with King Sancho I of Portugal after the disastrous events of the Anglo-Norman crusaders rampage on Lisbon.

The identification of Richard Camville and Robert of Sablé as the direct leaders of the contingent that helped the Portuguese defend Santarem seems to result from a misunderstanding of both the *Gesta Regis Ricardi* and Roger of Howden. Both say that the two noblemen were among the leaders of the crusading fleet that assembled at Dartmouth on the eve of the crusade. However, the *Gesta* makes it clear that a storm scattered the fleet, which was why the crusaders arrived at Lisbon at different times.⁷⁵⁹ The chronicle is not too clear, but it suggests that these two crusaders were the leaders of a later wave, i.e. not the one involved in the defence of Santarem but in the looting of Lisbon.⁷⁶⁰ Unfortunately, this interpretation of the text destroys the possibility of identifying the place of origin in England of the English crusaders who played a role in the defence of Santarem and Torres Novas, as the chronicles do not mention any of the names of those involved in this specific episode.

It is important to notice however, that the Portuguese reconquest continued to represent a viable deviation for the crusaders from the Anglo-Norman domains travelling to the Holy Land by sea. The argument used by

summer of 1192. He died in September 1192 or 93. *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, ed. Nicholson, 165, n. 72; *RHC*, III, 36, 42, 45, 53, 58-59, 62; *GRH*, II, 110, 115, 120, 124, 130 (mentioned as Master of the Temple), 134; Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt*, doc. 7; M. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacræ domus militiæ templi hierosololymitani magistri* (Göttingen, 1974), 123-134; Barber, 'The Grand Masters of the Temple', 145-150.

⁷⁵⁹ *Hispanicum die Ascensionis Domini, arripuit illas tempestas valida et horribilis, et ab invicem in memento sunt separatæ*. 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', 116.

⁷⁶⁰ *Sed antequam illi naves suas venissent, Robertus de Sablul, et Ricardus de Chamvil, venerunt ad Ulixisbonam cum sexaginta tribus magnis navibus de storio regis Angliæ : storum idem est quod navigium*. 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', 119; *RHC*, III, 45.

the messenger of Sancho, in the *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, who said: *quod nisi eum (the king) auxiliarentur, ipse totam terram suam amitteret*, seems to be addressing the traditional concept of *Bellum iustum* of Saint Augustine that the defence of Christian land was a primary concept, as part of God's justice.⁷⁶¹ Unlike the arguments put forward by the bishop of Porto in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* to convince the crusaders of the worthiness of the cause, the author of *Gesta Regis Ricardi* was convinced of the legality of the endeavour by the desperate position of the Portuguese monarch.⁷⁶² Roger of Howden on the other hand expressed the crusading nature of this expedition by demonstrating its religious zeal in this way: *Quingenti igitur viri bene armati, et ex omnibus qui in navibus venerant praelecti, fortiores et animosiores, elegerunt magis mori in bello pro nomine Jesu Christi, quam videre mala gentis suae, et exterminium, et relictis navibus et sociis suis, perrexerunt ascendentes per fluvium Thagi usque ad Sanctam Herenam...*⁷⁶³ The reference to the crusaders dying a worthy death in battle alludes to the doctrine that proclaims that those dying would receive eternal salvation as martyrs of a divine cause.⁷⁶⁴ More importantly this was emphasised by the papacy, in reference to the Iberian *Reconquista*, by Clement III in 1188.⁷⁶⁵ In addition, the Iberians seem to have taken this interpretation very seriously as it is known from a letter sent by Alfonso VIII to Philip Augustus II as the prelude

⁷⁶¹ 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', 118; Saint Augustine, *The City of God*, 32; F. H. Russell, 'Love and Hate in Medieval Warfare: The contribution of St Augustine', *NMS*, XXXI (1987), 108-124.

⁷⁶² 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', 118.

⁷⁶³ *RHC*, III, 44.

⁷⁶⁴ Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom*, 32; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 114-115.

⁷⁶⁵ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 57.

of the battle of Alarcos (1195), that the Castilian was prepared to die in battle and become a martyr.⁷⁶⁶

The defence of Torres Nuevas and Santarem did seem, at least from the perspective of the clerical chronicler of the *Gesta*, to be a legitimate target for the crusaders, as he does not criticise their involvement in helping the Portuguese monarch in his struggle.⁷⁶⁷ However, the author of the *Gesta*, like Roger of Howden, seems to have been critical of the wave of crusaders who were under the command of Richard of Camville and Robert of Sablé for their behaviour on arrival at Lisbon.⁷⁶⁸ The authors did not criticize the fact that the Portuguese monarch routed and imprisoned the evildoers, who according to both authors were mostly from England. This makes it clear that their clerical views on morality in this matter overshadowed any regionalist bias. This is an interesting example of crusaders sacking a Latin Christian city before the Fourth Crusade. Of course in this case, it was the failure of the commanders to keep discipline among their troops that caused the rout. The wisdom of the Portuguese monarch, in relation to the lack of control that the Anglo-Norman commanders had, seems to have produced a kind of admiration in the English chroniclers. Although the authors were probably able to gather evidence of the episodes from returning crusaders, it is interesting that they were able to detach themselves from the likely adverse opinion of the participants in this expedition who had suffered at the hands of the king's men. It is likely that the authors were also in contact with survivors from other groups who served

⁷⁶⁶ Ladero Quesada, 'Amenaza almohade y guerras entre reinos', 505-508.

⁷⁶⁷ 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', 117-119.

⁷⁶⁸ *RHC*, III, 44.

under the Portuguese and who were perhaps eager to dissociate themselves from those who had been responsible for the abuses in Lisbon.⁷⁶⁹

A comparison can be drawn between these expeditions to the Holy Land and those leading to the conquest of Lisbon half a century earlier, in that although both fleets were manned by crusaders from the lower aristocracy and the merchant classes, the way in which they were organized was very different. *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* describes in some detail that the crusaders who gathered at Dartmouth in 1147 came from different areas of England. Moreover, they were mostly made up of small landowners and merchants.⁷⁷⁰ This placed them in a situation in which they established their own rules of conduct to maintain the coherence of the fleet, which seem to have maintained order among the troops as they arrived in Portugal. On the other hand, in the Third Crusade, the fleet sent by Richard around Iberia to meet him in southern France was led by commanders appointed by the crown and the laws of conduct were imposed from above, which, without the presence of Richard himself, seem to have had little effect on the behaviour of his crusaders, many of whom were perhaps not as willing as those of the Second Crusade.⁷⁷¹ As opposed to the crusaders who ended up in Lisbon in 1147, many of those who took part in the Third Crusade were not travelling because of their own desire to get involved but because of their obligation as vassals.⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁹ 'Gesta Regis Ricardi', 118-119.

⁷⁷⁰ *DEL*, 52-57.

⁷⁷¹ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 73-74.

⁷⁷² Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 77-78.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, the names of the leaders involved in these expeditions do not seem to be related to the military actions that took place in Portugal and therefore cannot be considered participants of the Anglo-Norman involvement in the defence of Santarem. However, it is important to notice that, unlike the conquest of Lisbon, the defence of Santarem was certainly not a premeditated attempt by the Portuguese to attract the contribution of the Anglo-Norman contingents. The obligatory passage of the latter along the coasts of Portugal made it easy for the Portuguese to convince them to take part in this expedition (See Map 1). As explained above, despite the fact that the English crusaders successfully managed to help in the defence of Santarem, soon after Silves was recovered by the Muslims. It fell after a brief siege in which some English crusaders were involved on 10 June 1191.⁷⁷³ Silves was also sacked again in the summer of 1197 by crusaders from the Holy Roman Empire on their way to the Holy Land, as part of the crusade of the Emperor Henry VI, though there may have been some Anglo-Norman participation.

The last clear contribution of Anglo-Normans to the Portuguese reconquest was the siege and conquest of Alcaçer do Sal in 1217. This episode, like the conquest of Silves, was also a diversion from another crusade to the Holy Land. Also like the conquest of Silves, the armies were mostly made up of participants from the Low Countries and from Germany. It is likely that the Anglo-Norman input was not very significant, perhaps even smaller than that at Silves. The main chronicle for this episode is Frisian,

⁷⁷³ *El Anónimo de Madrid y Copenhague*, 70.

written by an anonymous participant, whose text was integrated into the *Annals* written for abbots Emon and Mencon of Floridus Hortus.⁷⁷⁴ The author was a relative of the Abbot Emon, but Ferreiro Alemparte claims that it is likely that the abbot modified the original source by adding references to classical literature.⁷⁷⁵ The text exists in a thirteenth-century version, which is now in Groningen.⁷⁷⁶ The chronicle as could be expected focussed on the Flemish and Dutch participants, making it a difficult source to use for Anglo-Norman involvement. However, since there is little evidence anywhere else for English participation in this expedition, it will be used as the main source in this brief section.

According to the chronicle, the Frisian fleet together with the men from the Holy Roman Empire, assembled one again at Dartmouth in England. The navy, which the chronicle claims was made up of two hundred and twelve ships, was under the joint command of the counts of Holland and Weid.⁷⁷⁷ The assembly of the fleet in Dartmouth shows that this English port continued to be the main rendezvous point for the northern crusaders planning to go to Jerusalem by sea. However, although the chronicle does not mention it, it is likely that as the German-Frisian fleet was being assembled in the port some English crusaders joined the expedition, encouraged by the size of the navy and possibly by preachers on board. However, the evidence for this is slim

⁷⁷⁴ Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 82.

⁷⁷⁵ Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 84.

⁷⁷⁶ Emon of Floridus Hortus, 'Anales', in *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados a las costas de la península ibérica*, trans. J. Ferreiro Alemparte (Madrid, 1999), 93-105.

⁷⁷⁷ After the victory of the capture of Alcaçer do Sal the crusaders were so glad that the count of Holland, one of the main leaders, wrote a letter to Honorius III relating the victory and asking for further orders in relation to the crusading venture. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arm. XXXII, n. 5, fs. 66v and 133 (pub in Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 504); Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 84.

since not even Matthew Paris, who mentioned the conquest of Alcaçer do Sal in his *Chronica Majora*, records any contribution from English crusaders in this expedition.⁷⁷⁸ The fleet from Dartmouth sailed around the peninsula of Brittany where it picked up some Breton crusaders and then along the coast of France and northern Spain to Lisbon.⁷⁷⁹ There the Portuguese received them with great honour, according to the *Annals of Emon of Floridus Hortus*.⁷⁸⁰ This time they did not encourage the northern crusaders to get involved in any conquests as seemed to be the case in previous expeditions. This might indicate that after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the Portuguese no longer needed the aid of the northern crusaders in order to continue the reconquest.⁷⁸¹ Moreover, Innocent III's disqualification of the *Reconquista* as a crusade in 1213 might have discouraged the input of foreigners in the Portuguese campaigns against the Muslims.⁷⁸² Although this would have certainly reduced the foreign interest in Iberia, the political changes in Iberia, as will be shown, produced an increase in the intensity of the offensive against Islam and did not stop the papacy from qualifying the *Reconquista* once more in the following decades when Iberian rulers required it. The fact that there was a great decline of Anglo-Norman involvement in Iberia might have been partially a result of Innocent's disqualification. However, there were other factors that conspired in this sudden change of interest.

⁷⁷⁸ CMJ, III, 32; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, II, 226.

⁷⁷⁹ M. Jones, 'Les Bretons et les croisades', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, LXXI (1994), 369.

⁷⁸⁰ Emon de Floridus Hortus, 'Anales', 95.

⁷⁸¹ Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, I, 65-66; Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 129-136.

⁷⁸² Barton, 'Traitors of the Faith?' 35.

After the fall of Alcaçer do Sal there was no further involvement of northern crusaders in the Portuguese side of the *Reconquista*, because the Portuguese monarch came to dominate the region of Algarve and the requirement for foreign aid subsided.⁷⁸³ After the Fourth Lateran Council, crusading ventures also became increasingly better organized and the Iberian monarchs were less keen to attract foreign crusaders to campaigns which did not fit their own political interests. From this point onward one can see an interest in encouraging more official armies to come to aid the war against Islam.⁷⁸⁴ It is interesting to notice that the passage of crusaders heading towards the Holy Land did not subside significantly until the second half of the thirteenth century, as the Latin States gradually diminished in size and calls for crusade were made. In addition from the second half of the twelfth century naval expeditions were starting to become common, but they were launched from southern France and Italy and did not require the passage via Iberia.⁷⁸⁵

It is important to notice, therefore, that in the case of the Anglo-Norman input into the Portuguese *Reconquista* their contribution always seemed to be opportunistic. The motivation, as is apparent from the different narratives, was a combination of materialistic with religious apologetic arguments. As Riley-Smith has pointed-out, crusaders did not always have a clear theologically-based idea of what exactly was the legitimate part of their venture.⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸³ 'A conquista do Algarve', 187-189.

⁷⁸⁴ J. M. Rodríguez García, 'Henry III (1216-1272), Alfonso X of Castile (1252-1284) and the crusading plans of the thirteenth century (1245-1272)', in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III*, eds. B. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (Aldershot, 2002), 99-120.

⁷⁸⁵ Richard, *The Crusades*, 319-361; Mayer, *The Crusades*, 228-238, 260-288; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 152-161, 173-176.

⁷⁸⁶ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 154-155; Jotischky, *Crusading*, 8.

Conflicting statements from Rome and from local clergy resulted in indistinct understanding in the minds of participants as to exactly where they had to go in order to get the desired remission of sins and who they had to fight. As explained by Lloyd, this was especially so as the crusading movement progressed and was transformed.⁷⁸⁷ Bull has also argued that strong religious pressures combined with external social pressures were motivating forces strong enough to convince many to join in and in the case of the Portuguese venture to modify their original aims in order to fulfil what they considered to be God's will.⁷⁸⁸ This idealism helped to legitimise and encourage the involvement of the Anglo-Norman contingents in Iberia, even when many of them might have not been acquainted with any papal arguments on the subject of the Iberian struggle. This line of argument is based logically on the pluralist interpretation of the crusades, which was discussed in the introduction.⁷⁸⁹

On the other hand, as the crusading expeditions that arrived in Portugal were made up of different individuals their motivations were naturally varied. Although it is apparent from the ecclesiastical nature of the chronicles that religious motives were very important, the actions of the crusaders in the aftermath of this expedition could easily convince a modern observer to suggest that the motivations were purely material. This is especially the case in places like Lisbon and Silves where it is apparent that at least some of the crusaders were happy to stay and not continue on to the Holy Land. However,

⁷⁸⁷ Lloyd, 'The Crusading movement 1096-1274', 40.

⁷⁸⁸ Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response*, 282-283.

⁷⁸⁹ Riley-Smith, 'The Crusading Movement and Historians', 11; Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 20-23.

on this point it is arguable that the separation modern observers make between secular and religious motives was not so clear then. This is an important factor that has to be taken into account when discussing motives. Therefore it seems more logical to assume that the participants had a combination of motives and interests that changed as the circumstances dictated.

The chroniclers were perhaps as keen as the crusaders were themselves to show that although their main aim was Jerusalem, their involvement in Iberia was to God's liking.⁷⁹⁰ The local ideas of Christian reconquest had probably permeated into the minds of some Anglo-Norman crusaders who stopped in Portugal on their way to the Holy Land and were invited to take part in the different campaigns launched by the Portuguese monarch. This was an occurrence that had become so common that even when the Portuguese king was not preparing to launch an expedition, the northern crusaders attacked the Atlantic coastal towns under Moorish control. However, the bishop of Lisbon, together with the military orders, was happy to engage the Muslims, as their religious zeal was a more potent influence in their decisions than the political interests of the monarch.⁷⁹¹ The Portuguese reconquest had therefore maintained the interest of the Anglo-Normans in Iberia for longer than might have been the case. This continued interest was a precursor to the growing political and diplomatic relations between the two

⁷⁹⁰ ...*congregata est contra eos Saracenorum maxima multitudo, contra quam fideles viriliter decertantes virtute divina infidels vicerunt*. Roger de Wendover, *The Flowers of History*, II, 226; *Diversis itaque diversa sentientibus, divino spritu nescio an suo impetu inflammati circa uesperam Frisones signa levantes hostes dispositos in campi urbem insiliunt...* Emon de Floridus Hortus, 'Anales', 186.

⁷⁹¹ Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 132.

geopolitical areas, a subject that will be explored in more detail in the following section.

Political disputes, alliance and contacts between England and Iberia. (1153-1216)

Returning to the changing perspectives of the Iberian kingdoms in relation to the Anglo-Norman realm and after the accession of Henry II, we should recap the various diplomatic contacts that took place between the accession of Henry II in 1154 and the loss of Normandy in 1204. This section will show how the Anglo-Norman rulers changed their perspective on the Iberian conflict to suit their own interest and how the Iberian monarchs were perhaps wrongly encouraged to believe that they were going to receive help from their northern allies. This section will explore how, during the reigns of Henry II and his two sons, diplomatic relations between the two areas became increasingly complex and close. Finally it will address how the fall of Normandy perhaps ended this period of close contact between the two regions. This section will include a chronological survey of different disputes, treaties and alliances that were made between the realms of the Iberian peninsula and the Angevin monarchs.

As explained previously, Henry II's first diplomatic contacts with Iberia were with the Crown of Aragon, in an attempt to cement an alliance with the ruler of that realm. In the 1150s, this was still Ramon Berenguer IV, the conqueror of Tortosa and threat to the rule of Robert Burdet in Tarragona. Apart from his obvious leadership over the principalities and counties of the Midi and Provence, his previous relations with subjects from the Anglo-

Norman domains made this ruler the most likely candidate to champion relations between the Anglo-Norman domains and Iberia.⁷⁹² It is perhaps no coincidence that Bernard Tort, archbishop of Tarragona, who began the destruction of the autonomy of Robert Burdet's independent principality at Tarragona, died in England in 1162 while on a diplomatic mission. He was sent by Queen Petronila to inform the English monarch of the death of her husband Ramon Berenguer IV and to place the young King Alfons II under the English king's protection.⁷⁹³

Although the contacts between Aragon and England remained strong even after the death of Ramon Berenguer IV, the first kingdom of the peninsula to secure a marriage alliance with the Angevin monarch was Castile. This came in the form of a marriage between the young Alfonso VIII of Castile and Henry's daughter Eleanor of England, in 1170 when the kings of Castile and Aragon entered into a political alliance.⁷⁹⁴ However, it is not very clear what moved both parties as Castile and Gascony only shared a very small frontier.⁷⁹⁵ However, it is likely that Alfonso saw Henry as a potential ally against Navarre. Otherwise he hoped to secure the participation of this monarch in a war against the rising menace of the Almohads, who in the 1170s were already threatening to engulf his kingdom as they had done the Taifa kingdoms in the south of the peninsula. If it was indeed to secure

⁷⁹² Goodman, 'England and Iberia', 74.

⁷⁹³ Don Bernard Tort, archbishop of Tarragona was sent by mandate of the queen to the kingdom of England, for this reasons: To let know to those princes of the death of prince Ramon [Berenguer IV]; and to tell them also how he had disposed of his possessions and states; to renew the loyalty and love that the Aragonese had with the house of England and finally to form new confederations and alliances, as the death prince had ordered. *AnCA*, II, 69; Confirmed in M. Duque, 'Documentos para el estudio de la numismática Navarro-Aragonesa', *Seminario de Arqueología y Numismática Aragonesas*, I (1951), 111-112, Doc. no. 89.

⁷⁹⁴ *AnCA*, II, 83-85; *RTC*, IV, 247; *RDO*, I, 334; Lucæ Tudensis, *Chronicon Mundi*, 321.

⁷⁹⁵ M. A. Ladero Quesada, 'Amenaza almohade y guerras entre reinos', *La Reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política*, ed. M.A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1998), 471.

Henry's support against Navarre, this alliance did not bring any fruits for Castile as Henry did not favour the Castilian when he later arbitrated between Alfonso and his Navarrese counterpart. In terms of the crusades, Alfonso VIII never managed to attract Henry to join any Iberian expedition against the Moors, although it is known that Henry toyed with the idea as a way of delaying his penance for the murder of Thomas Becket.⁷⁹⁶ It seems Henry decided to help the Iberian cause by giving support to the rising military order of Saint James by granting money similar to that which he sent to the Holy Land to sustain a hundred knights there.⁷⁹⁷ As Fita suggested, perhaps after all the matrimonial alliance had the aim of increasing the sea power of Castile with regards to Leon and Portugal.⁷⁹⁸

Henry's motives are harder to determine. It might have been as a policy to secure Castile as an ally and to stop it from becoming allied to the French in the struggle for control of Toulouse, as Warren and Labande have suggested.⁷⁹⁹ This however, is not too convincing since Castile was perhaps too far from the southern French county and had enough problems of its own with the kings of Leon, Navarre and Portugal to get involved in disputes in southern France. It is unlikely that Henry would have allied himself with the Castilian monarch for this purpose alone. In addition if this was the point of the alliance then more likely candidates would have been Navarre or Aragon, whose influence was more closely felt in southern France.

⁷⁹⁶ 'The Settlement of and 'Compromise' of Avranches', 942-952.

⁷⁹⁷ López Arguleta, ed., *Bullarium equestris ordinis Jacobi de Spatha*, 30.

⁷⁹⁸ Fita, *Elogio de Doña Leonor de Inglaterra*, 7-8.

⁷⁹⁹ Warren, *Henry II*, 117; E. R. Labande 'Les filles Aliénor d'Aquitaine: étude comparative', *CCM*, XXIX (1986), 105.

Unfortunately, the evidence on this subject is not sufficient to access the real motivation behind this marriage for Henry II. It is possible that there may have been more long-term motivations in a crusading venture of some kind in Iberia or in the Holy Land or to encourage trade. Warren argued that Henry wanted to reduce the influence that Louis VII had over Castile since his pilgrimage to that land in the mid-twelfth century. However is not clear how this policy could have been useful in any meaningful way to Henry with regards to his conflicts with Louis VII in France, apart perhaps as a way of keeping Navarre and Aragon in line with Henry's policies in the Midi.⁸⁰⁰ It would seem naïve if Henry thought, that the three Iberian kingdoms would keep peace with each other under Castilian pressure. Henry might have used this as a way of increasing his prestige and gathering a larger coalition against the Capetians.

Although the motives are impossible to assess with real certainty, the results of this marriage had important consequences for relations between Castile and the English crown for the next fifty years. The reason for this was the awkward dowry of Eleanor of England which, according to Iberian sources, included Gascony.⁸⁰¹ English sources are mysteriously silent about this dowry, which basically gave away this important English position in the continent to the Castilians.⁸⁰² The supposed dowry did not produce immediate confrontation between the crowns of Castile and England, but in the reign of John started to represent a problem for relations between the two kingdoms. It

⁸⁰⁰ Fita, *Elogio de Doña Leonor de Inglaterra*, 7-8.

⁸⁰¹ CLRC, 43; Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, 149.

⁸⁰² RTC, IV, 247; RDO, I, 334.

seems unlikely that Henry II would have given away such an important territory as dowry, especially since Castile was not clearly an important ally for his own pressing disputes with the Capetian monarchy. In any case this dispute was not settled until the reign of Alfonso X of Castile-Leon (1252-1284).⁸⁰³

It also noticeable that Alfonso VIII never bothered to claim the county seriously until the reign of John, whose inability to maintain his French patrimony made him an easy target of the Iberian monarch's desires for expansion north. The loss of Normandy in 1204 certainly made John lose prestige in the eyes of Alfonso VIII, who took this as an opportunity to seize land, while not losing a potentially powerful ally. This is very clear in the *Latin Chronicle of Kings of Castile*, where the anonymous author says:

In times of this king John, whom Philip (II) king of the Franks had deprived of Normandy and Anjou and of the lands of the peoples of Tours and of the populous city of Poitiers, the king of Castile with some of his vassals entered Gascony and occupied it almost totally, except for Bayonne and Bordeaux.⁸⁰⁴

Although it seems evident from this source that the invasion was prompted by the apparent weakness it seems that the death of Eleonor of Aquitaine in April 1204, mother of both John and Alfonso's wife, Eleonor also helped to legitimize his claim although this is not directly referred to in the sources. When John succeeded his brother Richard, he had maintained by a

⁸⁰³ *Diplomatic Documents preserved in the Public Records Office*, I, ed. P. Chaplais (London, 1964), docs. 270-271.

⁸⁰⁴ *CLRC*, 44.

skilful legal manoeuvre the duchy of Aquitaine under his mother's suzerainty.⁸⁰⁵ Alfonso VIII tried to capitalise on John's losses by invading Gascony, but his effort did not receive the support that he expected from the Gascon nobility and soon he had to withdraw.⁸⁰⁶ This dowry was certainly very threatening to the independence of the Navarrese who, if Gascony had fallen under Castilian domination, would have been almost completely encircled by their main rivals (Castile and Aragon). For this reason it is likely that the relations between the Navarrese and the English become more pressing during the reigns of Richard and John, as will be examined later.

In 1176, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Sancho VI of Navarre decided to solve a dispute they had over the border of their two kingdoms by asking Henry II to arbitrate.⁸⁰⁷ The proceedings of this legal dispute are relatively well-documented, as most English and Norman chroniclers were keen to mention events relating to the arrival of the ambassadors and the arguments used by either side to defend their claims.⁸⁰⁸ The resolution of the dispute that Henry II produced was recorded in great detail, showing the increased interest in the historical arguments for dispute in the English court.⁸⁰⁹ Although the arbitration elevated the status of the English monarch in the eyes of the two Iberian kings, it did not manage to solve the dispute, as the Castilian soon decided to continue his attempts to reconquer the territories that his Navarrese

⁸⁰⁵ J. C. Holt, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Jean sans Terre et la succession de 1199', *CCM*, XXIX (1986), 98.

⁸⁰⁶ *CLRC*, 44-45; Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, 157.

⁸⁰⁷ Some of the documents, relating to the dispute, were collected by Thomas Rymer in his *Fœdera* in the eighteenth century. The documents include, as stated above, the original request for arbitration and the cases put forward by the messengers and advocates of both kings in relation to the dispute. Rymer, *Fœdera*, I, 43-50.

⁸⁰⁸ *GRH*, I, 138-143; *RHC*, II, 120-131.

⁸⁰⁹ Luis Corral, 'Alfonso VIII Judicial Process at the Court of Henry II', 37-41.

counterpart had taken during his minority and which Henry's resolution had awarded to the Navarrese.⁸¹⁰ Perhaps because the Castilians did not follow Henry's judgement as they had promised, the Plantagenets gradually started to side more with the Navarrese. It is also likely that Henry based his judgement not on his apparent neutrality in the dispute, but on a growing fear of Castilian expansion northwards.

Therefore another important alliance that was forming between the English and the Iberian monarchs, was one that emerged between Richard I and Sancho VI and later Sancho VII of Navarre, which carried on until John's reign. The small Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre had been threatened since its independent reappearance at the death of Alfonso I the Battler in 1135, by both Castile and Aragon, who at times formed alliances to destroy it. Alfons II of Aragon restored his father's old alliance with the Castilians and was not only threatening the Navarrese but also the Aquitainian domains with his expansion through the Pyrenean lands and the Midi.⁸¹¹ This difficult position made the small Basque-speaking kingdom look for alliance throughout this period with dukes of Aquitaine with whom it had strong historical links. The fact that Richard was made count of Poitou during the reign of his father and spent a lot of his time in Gascony and other Aquitainian domains, kept him in contact with the Navarrese monarch.⁸¹² As explained above, the Castilian claim to Gascony was inimical to Navarrese independence and as long as the Castilian monarch was not prepared to honour Henry II's supposed promised

⁸¹⁰ Luis Corral, 'Alfonso VIII Judicial Process at the Court of Henry II', 22-42; J. Gonzalez, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (Madrid, 1959). 458-463.

⁸¹¹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 56-57.

⁸¹² J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (London, 1978), 80.

dowry the Navarrese would be able to maintain some security.⁸¹³ This made it imperative for Sancho VI to secure the friendship of the Plantagenet royal family.

This friendship might have even encouraged the Navarrese crown prince, the future Sancho VII (the Strong) to join Richard on his crusade to the Holy Land, together with his sister Berengaria who was to marry Richard in Cyprus.⁸¹⁴ A contribution by Sancho VII to the Third Crusade is far from certain, but if it ever occurred it would have shown a friendship that the two men managed to forge. Moreover, the marriage to Berengaria was certainly the culmination of this friendship and alliance, which was kept alive even during Richard's imprisonment in Austria. It was Sancho who defended Richard's rights in Gascony in his absence. In any case, the relationship between England and Navarre was kept alive as long as England controlled Gascony and it served both sides well, both against the French and the Castilians.⁸¹⁵

However, as Navarre had long been without any important share in the *Reconquista*, this alliance did little to encourage the English monarchs' or their vassals' involvement in it. Sancho VII of Navarre had an alliance with the Almohad Caliph al-Nasir during this period. This resulted from the continuous attacks from both Castile and Aragon, who in 1198 had decided to conquer

⁸¹³ E. Pascua Echegary, *Guerra y pacto en el siglo XII* (Madrid, 1996), 317-320.

⁸¹⁴ Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 139-141; L. J. Fortín Pérez de Ciriza, 'Del reino de Pamplona al Reino de Navarra (1134-1217)', in *La Reconquista y el proceso de diferenciación política*, ed. M. A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1998), 645-646; A. Ubieta Arteta, '¿Asistió Sancho el fuerte de Navarra a la Tercera Cruzada?' *Separata de la Revista Príncipe de Viana*, CXVII-CXIX (1970), 171-179.

⁸¹⁵ K. Northgate, *John Lackland* (London, 1902), 83.

Navarre and partition it. Sancho broke his Almohad alliance when he joined the crusading venture that culminated in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, apparently under pressure from Innocent III.⁸¹⁶

Richard's close alliance with Navarre did not stop him from planning to launch a crusade to aid his brother-in-law Alfonso VIII after his disastrous defeat at the battle of Alarcos in 1195 by the Almohads, a defeat that was perceived in western Europe in the same way as that of Hattin a few years earlier.⁸¹⁷ This military disaster certainly scared the papacy so much that it encouraged both Iberian and non-Iberian monarchs to stop their quarrels and launch a crusade into al-Andalus to save Iberia from its impending doom. The papacy thought its loss was imminent like that of Jerusalem after Hattin. Richard's interest in crusading in Iberia surfaced again during peace negotiations with his rival Philip Augustus II of France in August 1195, but they were never put into practice.⁸¹⁸ But the fact that Richard gave attention to the emergency in Iberia does suggest that the channels of communication with this area of Europe were open. The Plantagenet ruler was very aware of the danger that a rise of Muslim power in the peninsula might mean to his own territories.⁸¹⁹ Participation in Iberia therefore had perhaps not only been discussed from a religious point of view, as argued by the papacy, but also as a preventive action to avoid later threats. However, the Almohad Caliph's own

⁸¹⁶ Also of interest in the passage is, the supposed love affair that existed between Sancho VII of Navarre and the daughter of the Sultan of Morocco, which Roger of Howden wrote about. Not being a totally implausible story, this shows the close links that existed between Navarre and England, which allowed for these kind of romantic stories to travel all the way to England so quickly. C. Smith, *Christians and Moors*, II (Westminster, 1989), 6-11.

⁸¹⁷ Ladero Quesada, 'Amenaza almohade y guerras entre reinos', 505-508.

⁸¹⁸ Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 258.

⁸¹⁹ Defourneaux, *Les français en Espagne*, 180-181.

problems in Morocco stopped him from using his victory, narrated in Islamic sources as a great defeat for the Christians, for any meaningful extension of his domains in Iberia. This unforeseen course of events gave time for the Christian rulers to recover from this erosion of their prestige and improve their military capabilities.⁸²⁰

After the death of Richard, John continued to maintain a friendly stance with regard to Navarre and on 4 November 1201 he signed a treaty with the Navarrese monarch. They agreed:

*Juramus et firmamus quod, bona fide, et fine omni fraude, dabimus eidem Regi consilium et auxilium modis omnibus, pro posse nostro, tam per nos ipsos, quam per homines et fideles nostros, et cum pecunia nostra contra omnes homines (solo Rege Moroccorum exep̄to) nec cum aliquo inimicorum prædicti Regis, sine consensu et voluntate ipsius, pacem vel concordiam aut treugam aliquam faciemus.*⁸²¹

This important alliance confirms the continued mutual interest of the two monarchs in keeping their historical alliance alive, each perceiving the other as important in disputes with other kingdoms, i.e. France, Castile and Aragon. However, the treaty clearly indicates that their alliance did not include wars against the Muslims of the peninsula, showing that this alliance had no direct connection with any attempt by the Navarrese to bring the English monarch into the *Reconquista*. The reason for this being that at the time Navarre had a close alliance with al-Nasir. This equally helped to check Alfonso VIII's

⁸²⁰ Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, II, trans. P. de Gayangos (London, 1974), 321-322; Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes*, II, 213.

⁸²¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, I, 127.

attempts to conquer Navarrese lands along the Ebro. Similarly, John would have been aware of Alfonso VIII's desires to claim the dowry of Eleanor. Navarre would have been useful to fight back the Castilians if they attempted to invade Gascony. Their alliance was confirmed a year later in 1202 with another treaty of friendship and alliance against all men except the king of Morocco.⁸²² Close relations with Navarre were maintained even during the early years of the minority of Henry III when the king of Navarre sent correspondence to the young monarch regarding the claims of the king of Castile over Gascony.⁸²³

While the dowry of Gascony of Eleanor produced friction between Alfonso VIII of Castile and John of England, Alfonso IX of Leon, whose relations with Alfonso VIII of Castile were less than amicable, also sought to create an alliance with John.⁸²⁴ The record of John's desire to forge this alliance shows how the English monarch was very aware of the animosity that existed between the two Alfonsos.⁸²⁵ This treaty of friendship could have been used perhaps to counter Alfonso VIII's pretensions in Gascony as it had been with Navarre.

Apart from this obvious strategic alliance, the treaty would have helped to regularise trade between the two kingdoms, which by the early thirteenth

⁸²² Rymer, *Fœdera*, I, 127.

⁸²³ *Diplomatic Documents*, I, ed. Chaplais, doc. 56.

⁸²⁴ J. F. O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), 320-325; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 62-64.

⁸²⁵ Rymer, *Fœdera*, I, 142.

century started to increase.⁸²⁶ Leon, the kingdom where the famous shrine of Saint James was located, was the destination of many hundreds of pilgrims who travelled by land and sea from many parts of western Europe, including England and Normandy, and established new lines of communication and trade. It is likely that, apart from the obvious importance of the shrine, the geographic position of Galicia made it an obligatory stopover for merchant ships travelling from the Mediterranean to England and it was necessary therefore to formalise relations between the two kingdoms. For example in 1232 Henry III and Fernando III were engaged in a maritime dispute in which one of Henry's ships was detained in Galicia: 'To F[ernando] king of Castile, Toledo, Leon and Galicia. The king returns him abundant thanks for informing him of his great ship which is detained in Coruña and his great pleasure that the ship, with the goods and merchandise therein, be restored to him and that they should send someone to receive the ship.'⁸²⁷ Apart from this there are mentions of trade arrangements between the English and Iberian monarchs in relation to Iberian merchants during this period in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.⁸²⁸

Although there is no certainty about how seriously Alfonso IX took this alliance, John's relations with both Navarre and Leon in the first decade of the thirteenth century might have helped him to open the links for perhaps his most controversial and shadowy dealings with a monarch. It is Matthew Paris' flamboyant claim that John opened negotiations with Al-Nasir for a grand

⁸²⁶ CPR, AD 1232-1247, 68.

⁸²⁷ W. R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1978), 12.

⁸²⁸ CPR, AD 1225-1232, 42-43, 52-53; CPR, AD 1232-1247, 192.

alliance that could have helped him regain his domination of the Angevin Empire as a vassal of this Muslim leader.⁸²⁹ This narrative was also included in the acts of the abbey of Saint Albans, where Matthew had been a monk since 1217.⁸³⁰ This alliance certainly went against almost two hundred years of Anglo-Norman aid to the *Reconquista* on the Christian side.

It is well known that the chronicler Matthew Paris was not a great admirer of John and his disputes with Rome did not make him popular among the clergy in England. This may explain the invention of such a story, which is not recorded in any other document of John's reign.⁸³¹ However, if these dealings did take place, it is logical to think that for the sake of secrecy, John would not have allowed them to be recorded in official documents. It is certain that if these dealings had been discovered by his secular and clerical enemies, they would certainly have been used against him. Interestingly, as N. Barbour has shown, the fourteenth-century Arab chronicler Ibn Abi Zar in his *Rawd al-Qirtas* recorded that in 1211 the embassy sent by a Christian monarch was received.⁸³² However, as Barbour explains there is a problem in identifying the embassy sent to the Almohads as an English one. The chronicle described the Christian dispatcher as the king of Bayonne and not of England. This situation caused both medieval and modern copyists and historians to believe that Bayonne was a copying mistake for Pamplona,

⁸²⁹ *CMJ*, II, 559-564; N. Barbour, 'Embassy sent by King John of England to Miramamolin, King of Morocco', *Al-Andalus*, XXV (1960), 373-381; N. Barbour, 'Two Embassies to the Almohad sultan Mohammad al-Nasir at Seville 1211', in *Actas del primer congreso de estudios árabes e islámicos* (Cordoba, 1962), 189-213; Ibn Abi Zar, *Rawd al-Qirtas*, 457-460.

⁸³⁰ *Gesta Abbatum Monasterio Sancti Albani*, II (London, 1874), 559.

⁸³¹ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 318-355, 368-370.

⁸³² N. Barbour, 'The Embassy sent by King John to Miramolin', 373-381; Barbour, 'Two Christian Embassies to the Almohad Sultan', 189-213.

capital of Navarre. This is a very convincing argument, since it is well known that Sancho VII was in close alliance with the Almohads until shortly before the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.⁸³³

Matthew Paris claims that his source, Robert of London had said that John proposed to convert to Islam and to put his domains under the Sultan's suzerainty. These claims are either the creation of this man or of Matthew himself, in a desire to discredit the English monarch for his dealings with the Muslims. It is more likely that, as Barbour suggested, John's intentions were to dissuade the Muslim leader from invading his territories in the event that the caliph was successful in his planned invasion of Christian Iberia. Perhaps, the intention was to incite a Moorish incursion into the kingdom of France that would have been beneficial to his machinations against the French monarch.⁸³⁴ However, in this latter claim it is more likely that John was simply trying to put a further check on Alfonso VIII's expansionist desires on Gascony. Of course, it is possible that John, Sancho VII and Raymond of Toulouse might have attempted this alliance, to use the Almohad plan of invasion as way to limit the growing power of both Castile and France; however, to go further and claim that John was ready to change religion is too far fetched.

⁸³³ Barbour, 'Two Christian Embassies to the Almohad Sultan', 191; O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', 326-327; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 102-109. Barbour, 'The Embassy sent by King John of England to Miramolin', 378-380.

⁸³⁴ Barbour, 'The Embassy sent by King John of England to Miramolin', 381; Barbour, 'Two Christian Embassies to the Almohad Sultan', 212-213.

After the defeat of the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, there ceased to be an immediate threat to Europe and their usefulness to John declined. In 1213 John made peace with the pope, but instead of gaining the upper hand in continental affairs, he faced a baronial rebellion in England (for reasons beyond the scope of the thesis).⁸³⁵ These new circumstances withdrew the English monarch from international affairs. They limited his relations with the Iberian kingdoms, who now were less interested in encouraging foreign contribution in their crusade against Muslim Spain, since the success of Las Navas de Tolosa gave the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula the upper hand on their perennial struggle against Islam.⁸³⁶

After John's death his son, Henry III, was a minor and his supporters had to fend off a French invasion. They followed a cautious foreign policy that was far less sophisticated than that of his predecessors.⁸³⁷ It was over 20 years before policy seriously changed. When Henry III took control of the affairs of his kingdom, he became keen to restore his Angevin inheritance on the continent. He saw the rising power of the united kingdoms of Castile and Leon, under the crusader Fernando III, as a potential ally in restoring his domains.⁸³⁸ As Matthew Paris explains Fernando also seems to have seen the English king as a possible ally in his further plans of conquest.⁸³⁹ However, it was not until the reign of Fernando's son Alfonso X (the Learned) that active

⁸³⁵ To see more on the origins of the baronial rebellion against King John see: S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1966), 226-284; W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 1997), 174-190, 224-255; Turner, *King John*, 188-200.

⁸³⁶ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 116-119, 133-134.

⁸³⁷ D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), 24-49, 174-175, 376-378.

⁸³⁸ R. C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III 1216-1245* (Oxford, 1987), 160-200; J. M. Rodríguez García, 'Henry III (1216-1272), Alfonso X of Castile (1252-1284) and the Crusading Plans of the thirteenth century (1245-1272)', in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III*, ed. B. Weiler and I. W. Rowlands (Aldershot, 2002), 99-120.

⁸³⁹ *CMJ*, V, 231-232.

diplomatic relations were established. By the second half to the thirteenth century the *Reconquista* was all but over, with only the small Taifa kingdom of Granada under Muslim control. Although diplomatic relations grew during this period, they were more related to the interests in Anglo-French conflicts than to any attempt of crusade. There were some vain attempts to use the English naval expertise in an expedition against Morocco but this never materialised.⁸⁴⁰

The Anglo-Normans in the greatest phase of Reconquest (1212-1248)

The period from 1212 to 1248 saw the greatest achievements of the Iberian reconquest with the completion of both the Aragonese and Portuguese reconquest and the definitive unification of Castile and Leon under a single ruler, who managed to conquer Cordoba and Seville, the two most famous bastions of Islamic civilization in the peninsula.⁸⁴¹ By the end of this last period, the territories under Christian domination were more or less doubled in a single generation. The fall of Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Seville and Cordoba were seen as great victories for the crusading cause and as a sharp contrast to the failures in the Holy Land despite the later crusades.⁸⁴² However, although Anglo-Norman involvement in the reconquest up to this period had seen some well-documented sieges, during the campaigns of Fernando III and Jaime I references to the Anglo-Normans are very few.

⁸⁴⁰ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 153-157; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 112-123.

⁸⁴¹ O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 333.

⁸⁴² *Hæc cum audisset victoriossimus rex Castellæ Alfonsus (mistake for Fernando III), qui jam plusquam tradecim dietas super Sarracenos adquisivit, compassus Francorum miseriam, cruce signatus est, dignus reputans Terram Sanctam Christo subjugare quam aliam. CMJ, V, 170.*

Although Anglo-Norman crusading in Iberia decreased dramatically during this period, this section will cover briefly the campaigns of reconquest from the fall of the Balearic Islands to the fall of Seville. It also will try to explain why there was such a dramatic decline in Anglo-Norman involvement in the peninsula.

The first event of this concluding phase of the Iberian *Reconquista* was the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. This culminated from a crusading push by Innocent III to counter the growing threat of the Almohads in Iberia and saw the greatest coalition of Iberian monarchs for many decades and probably the largest field battle of the whole period in western Europe.⁸⁴³ With regard to the Iberian conflict, Innocent like his predecessor was very dissatisfied with the apparent inaction of the Iberian monarchs over the Almohad threat. He became very active in trying to restore peace between the Christian monarchs of the peninsula in the first decade of the thirteenth century.⁸⁴⁴ By a very skilful use of legates and placing of excommunications on the different kingdoms of Iberia, Innocent was able by 1209 to create a relative peace to make the Iberian monarchs more interested in restarting military campaigns against the Almohads.⁸⁴⁵ This new Christian peace coincided with the end of a ten-year truce that had existed with the Muslims.

The first Iberian king to push for crusade in this period was Pere II of Aragon (1174-1213), who asked the pope for crusading indulgences for an

⁸⁴³ *Crónica de veinte reyes*, ed. Hernández Alonso, 281-282; 'Anales Toledanos I', 996; J. Eslava Galán, 'Tácticas de la batalla de las Navas de Tolosa', *CEM*, VI-VII (1978), 39-53.

⁸⁴⁴ O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', 326-327; A. García y García, 'Innocent III and the Kingdom of Castile', in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. J. C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), 338-340.

⁸⁴⁵ D. J. Smith, '«Soli Hispani»? Innocent III and Las Navas de Tolosa', *Hispania Sacra*, LI (1999), 497.

offensive against the Muslims. Reference to the militant desire of the Aragonese monarch is shown in a letter sent by Innocent III to Alfonso VIII of Castile to try to make him follow the lead of the Aragonese: *Cum igitur carissimus in Christo filius noster P[etrus] Aragonum rex illustris orthodoxe fidei zelo succensus, quam perfidia sarracenorum impugnât, ad expugnandum eos, sicut accepimus,...*⁸⁴⁶ But it was not until Alfonso VIII of Castile asked the pope for crusading indulgences for a campaign in 1212, that Innocent III conceded and put into motion the crusading call in western Europe. He encouraged Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada to maintain peace between the kings of Castile and Leon in order to stop any delay to the crusade.⁸⁴⁷ Envoys were sent to all the clergy of Iberia and even to the archbishops of Sens, Narbonne and Bordeaux, calling them to support with goods and men.⁸⁴⁸ The international appeal of the crusade of Las Navas de Tolosa, shows the strong interest of Innocent in the Iberian affair.⁸⁴⁹ The pope seems to have been so convinced of the legitimacy of this crusade that he ordered the Roman clergy to perform liturgical celebrations to ensure crusading success.⁸⁵⁰

The coalition that united Alfonso VIII of Castile, Sancho VII of Navarre and Pere II of Aragon received not only a crusading bull, making it officially a crusade, it also received support from nobles from across Europe, from

⁸⁴⁶ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 416.

⁸⁴⁷ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 451; L. K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence* (Ann Arbor, 2004), 25-34.

⁸⁴⁸ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 468; Abrici monachi Trium Fontium, 'Chronica', *Monumenta germaniæ historica*, XXIII (Stuttgart, 1963), 894.

⁸⁴⁹ Smith, 'Innocent III and Las Navas de Tolosa', 502-505.

⁸⁵⁰ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 473; García y García, 'Innocent III and the Kingdom of Castile', 339-340; C. T. Mainer, 'Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross', in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. C.J. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), 352-353; M. G. López Payer and M. D. Rosado Llamas, *La Batalla de las Navas de Tolosa* (Madrid, 2002), 69.

southern France to the duke of Austria.⁸⁵¹ Their Christian victory, recorded by sources both in the peninsula and across Europe, represented the beginning of the end for Muslim power in the peninsula, perhaps the only clear success of the crusading movement supported by the papacy of Innocent III in the war against Islam.⁸⁵² The symbolic capture of the royal standard of Marmolin (Al-Nasir) was certainly a morale booster for Christendom in a period where there had been hardly any advance against the Muslims in the Latin East. This seems to have been recognised by Innocent III, when after receiving the news of the victory from an envoy from Alfonso VIII, he exhorted the clergy and people of Rome to give thanks to God for the victory over the infidels.⁸⁵³ The victory of Las Navas de Tolosa was widely accepted as a great victory for Christendom, a fact that prompted the bishop of Cremona to remark that Alfonso VIII had not just saved his kingdom but Christendom from certain doom.⁸⁵⁴

This important crusade to Iberia might have attracted some of the dissatisfied English nobility who during this period had been wrestling with their monarch at home and were in open rebellion. John's own troubles with the nobility had extended to problems with the Church, to a point where Innocent III had excommunicated him and had allowed his nobles completely to oppose his rule in order to force him to accept the pope's choice of

⁸⁵¹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 74; O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', 327-335; García y García, 'Innocent III and the Kingdom of Castile', 338-350; Defourneaux, *Les français en Espagne*, 182-185.

⁸⁵² 'Annales toledanos I', 397; Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, 'De rebus Hispanæ', *Textos históricos en latín medieval siglos VIII-XIII*, ed. L. Vázquez de Parga (Madrid, 1952), 179-208; Emon de Floridus Hortus, 'Anales', 86-87 no. 5; 'Cronicon Conimbricense', in *ES*, XXIII (Madrid, 1799), 335; Abrici monachi Trium Fontium, 'Chronica', 894.

⁸⁵³ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 140; O'Callaghan, 'Innocent III and the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon', 333.

⁸⁵⁴ Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 295.

archbishop for Canterbury. A crusading venture was perhaps the only way for some of the more pious to redeem themselves from their connection with the disgraced English monarch. Direct reference to an English contribution in this expedition comes from a very unlikely place, the *Annals de Floridus Hortus*.⁸⁵⁵ This source, however, does not give names of English participants or much detail about them apart from their presence.⁸⁵⁶ It mentions the involvement of the French, which is confirmed by Iberian sources. It is likely that among the Gascons, who the Iberian chronicles note were present thanks to the appeal of Arnaldus, the physician of Alfonso VIII, there might have been some English knights, but this is not certain.⁸⁵⁷ It is not clear whether the English were really involved in the battle itself, or as was the case with many of the French, were only involved in the original march south.⁸⁵⁸ Perhaps they were part of the large section of the French who were dissatisfied with the chivalrous treatment of the Muslim captives after the siege of Calatrava, or for other reasons, deserted the expedition and attempted unsuccessfully to conquer Toledo

⁸⁵⁵ Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos y Cruzados*, 86-87 no. 5.

⁸⁵⁶ 'The arrogance of the King Ammiramolin of Cartage (the Almohad Sultan Mohammad al-Nasir), rose to the point that provoked war, through a letter full of lies against all the followers of Christ. Due to this and the indulgences offered by Pope Innocent, there was a congregation of innumerable peoples from the kingdoms of France and England. However, they proved they were not dignified to wait for the day of the battle. It seems it did not please God that this victory (which seems like it was sent from Heaven to the Christian), was attributed to that multitude of combatants. The king of Castile, even though he was a very generous and hard working warrior because of his age, had given payments with great munificence, to those who had come from their home countries, but few were those who stayed after all. The Duke of Austria due to his long journey was unable to arrive on time to participate in the battle. However, the kings of Castile, Aragon and Navarre in alliance and under the flag of unity, travelled across the port and engaged the prince of the world of the infidels, who although he had occupied the higher ground and he had numeric superiority over the Christians, was vanquished and put to flee with aid of the divine virtue. The Saracens left many dead and lost a great amount of towns and fortress'. Ferreiro Alemparte, *Arribadas de Normandos*, 86-87, no. 5.

⁸⁵⁷ López Payer and Rosado Llamas, *La Batalla de las Navas de Tolosa*, 68.

⁸⁵⁸ Lucæ Tudensis, *Chronica Mundi*, 329-331; Lucas de Tuy, *Crónica de España*, 413-415; CLRC, 54.

before returning home in disgrace.⁸⁵⁹ In either case, the Anglo-Norman participation has to be treated with some scepticism since there is no Iberian or English source that mentions any of this.

King Jaume I of Aragon's conquests were, by comparison with his Castilian counterpart, not as impressive although he managed to enlarge his territories significantly. His expeditions received papal dispensation and were recorded in his *Chronicle of Deeds*.⁸⁶⁰ Of the conquests of Jaume I of Aragon, which includes the crusading venture to the Balearic islands and the conquest of the rich kingdom of Valencia, the latter is the only one that seems to have included an English contingent. The conquest of Valencia was also a more prestigious conquest for the Aragonese, since the Balearic Islands had been conquered temporally before by Ramon Berenguer III. The city of Valencia and the kingdom of Valencia had been extremely wealthy since long before their conquest by the Christians. The contribution of English crusaders in this expedition is not, however, as well documented as those of the twelfth century. Jaume I did not bother to mention them specifically in his chronicle although he did acknowledge that some foreigners were present. Even Matthew Paris, who mentioned the conquest of the city on his chronicle, did not note any general involvement of Anglo-Normans in it.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁵⁹ Eslava Galán, 'Tácticas de la batalla de las Navas de Tolosa', 39-53.

⁸⁶⁰ James I of Aragon, *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon*, trans. D. Smith and H. Buffery (Aldershot, 2003), 6; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 150-170.

⁸⁶¹ 'Eodem anno capta est insula Majorc, Majorica dicta ad differentiam Minorcæ, scilicet minoris, quæ sita est inter Affricam et Marsiliam, Christianis nimis nociva, scilicet a rege Arragoniæ et civibus Marsiliæ', *CMJ*, III, 305.

For the Anglo-Norman contribution, one must use *Los Anales de la Corona de Aragón* of Geronimo Zurita. This is a much later source and perhaps not entirely reliable, especially since there does not seem to be any earlier mention of English involvement in the conquest of Valencia. However, this sixteenth-century chronicler claimed that English and French sources stated:

Also in the histories of England they say that Henry III sent aid from the people of his kingdom the Jaume [I of Aragon] for the purpose of this conquest (Valencia). And the histories of France confirm the English came and served the king in the war.⁸⁶²

Of course, the problem here is that this chronicle does not give the source of this observation and even if the information is reliable, there are no actual names. It is unlikely that Henry III sent a group of knights to the siege of Valencia, as this is not recorded in any of the increasingly voluminous contemporary records in England, and moreover Henry was still a child.⁸⁶³ However it is not unlikely that a small group of crusaders sailing to the Holy Land might have become involved in this great siege.⁸⁶⁴ Certainly, in the period between the fall of the Balearic Islands and that of Cordoba, the Iberian monarchs, although keen to exploit the use of crusading propaganda through the papacy to attract internal support for their expeditions, were less interested in mustering support from abroad.⁸⁶⁵ Even the king of Aragon does not seem

⁸⁶² *AnCA*, III, 121.

⁸⁶³ *CMJ*, III, 384-385; *Calendar of Charter Rolls: Henry III AD 1226-1257*, I (London, 1903), 1-66; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III: AD 1225-1232*, 1-224.

⁸⁶⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III: AD 1225-1232*, 89-90, 120.

⁸⁶⁵ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 157-178.

to have made a great attempt to encourage participants from outside the peninsula other than his vassals in the Languedoc region.⁸⁶⁶ The *Reconquista* in the thirteenth century was envisaged by the Iberian monarchs as local enterprise. Politically, the kingdoms of Castile-Leon and Aragon had almost doubled their size and the kings used these newly conquered territories to enrich the nobles in the countryside and the rising merchant sector in the cities. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the Iberian monarchs refused to allow northern crusaders to be involved in these campaigns. Nonetheless their participation seems to have been minimal. There are brief observations in documentary evidence that, at least after the fall of Seville, there were a number of English settlers who became resident in the city.⁸⁶⁷

By 1204 Normandy was lost to King John and with this event the political and cultural union between England and Normandy, so significant since the Norman conquest of England, was practically ended. Differentiation between the nobility of the two lands had been taking place since the reign of Stephen, but the Capetian conquest of Normandy really put an end to political unity.⁸⁶⁸ John's loss of Normandy and most of his continental domains, was a factor that marked his reign like no other. This loss of prestige had great consequences for him at home and abroad. His conflict with the church was

⁸⁶⁶ Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 66.

⁸⁶⁷ E. Cabrera, 'Notas sobre la Conquista y la Organización Territorial del Reino de Córdoba en el Siglo XII', in *Medioevo Hispano* (Madrid, 1995), 85-86; Mackay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, 69.

⁸⁶⁸ Webber, *The Evolution of the Norman Identity*, 136-141.

another important factor in the contribution of some of his subjects in crusades outside his domains as has already been explained.⁸⁶⁹

It is also reported in the *Chronicle of Twenty Kings* that Alfonso's fame as king and lord attracted a great number of barons and knights from all over Europe to his court, including those specifically from England and Gascony.⁸⁷⁰ Although there is little evidence of the barons being antagonistic to King John for his actions with regards to the church, it is possible that a few pious knights and nobles might have taken part, in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. However, it was the Albigensian Crusade and John's war against the French that occupied his mind and that of his loyal and disloyal subjects. The crusade against the Cathars had an important attraction for John's dissatisfied vassals and its implications for the enlargement of the French monarch's sphere of influence was an equally powerful incentive for the English monarch to get involved on the opposing side.⁸⁷¹ Certainly, the crusade against the heretics in southern France was an easier and cheaper way to gain salvation for those who intended to fight for Christianity, but who were not inclined to travel all the way to the Holy Land.⁸⁷² Therefore, these wars might have distracted potential crusaders who would have otherwise gone to Iberia or the Holy Land.

⁸⁶⁹ Warren, *King John*, 168-169; C. Harper-Bill, 'John and the Church of Rome', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S.D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999), 304-311.

⁸⁷⁰ *Crónica de veinte reyes*, 279.

⁸⁷¹ C. Taylor, 'Innocent III, John of England and the Albigensian Crusade', in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. J.C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), 219-228.

⁸⁷² For Norman and Anglo-Norman participants in the Albigensian Crusade see: N. Vincent, 'England and the Albigensian Crusade', in *England and Europe in the reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, ed. B. K.U. Weiler and I. W. Rowland (Ashgate, 2002).

On the other hand, coincidentally, the reign of Henry III, especially until 1248 when the city of Seville fell to Fernando III, was characterized by a new sense of Englishness, which was now better formed and had replaced the collective sense of being Norman or Anglo-Norman.⁸⁷³ However, English nobles still spoke French and family links with the continent were still strong although the Angevin Empire was no more.⁸⁷⁴ During the earlier part of Henry III's reign to the 1240's, there seems to have been little contact between the English realm and the Iberian kingdoms. There were some English settlers who arrived and were given lands in Seville after it fell to Fernando III, but their number was small compared to other foreigners, or Franks as they were called in local records. This suggests that the Anglo-Norman presence in the conquest of Seville occurred by accident, or that English settlers actually arrived after the event, looking to enrich themselves in the newly conquered city. For example only Johannes Anglici appears in the records of the population of the city in 1251.⁸⁷⁵

The relations between the two regions were relegated to commercial links and pilgrims travelling from England to Iberia. Although Gascony continued under English domination, to the Iberian monarchs England had ceased to be an important power for alliances. Even Navarre, which during the reigns of Henry II and his two sons had looked for the protection of English monarchs did not pursue a very active diplomacy with regards to the English, especially when the House of Champagne inherited the Pyrenean kingdom

⁸⁷³ T. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation* (Oxford, 1996), 1-10.

⁸⁷⁴ A. Harding, *England in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge, 1993), 273-279.

⁸⁷⁵ J. González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, 337-338.

and started to look to France for support.⁸⁷⁶ This decline of interest in the peninsula together with other factors like the changing route of the crusades to the Holy Land help to diminish the involvement of the Anglo-Normans in Iberia. However as has been shown other factors contributed to this like the fall of Normandy to the French monarch and the changing political factors in the peninsula. Moreover, by the time the interest in Iberia reappeared in England the *Reconquista* was all but finished and the relationship started to have different characteristics.

⁸⁷⁶ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 107.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

The Norman and Anglo-Norman involvement in the wars of reconquest in the Iberian peninsula, as examined in this work, changed in its character in response to many factors both from beyond and within the peninsula. Some conclusions can be drawn from this gradual increase then sharp decline in participation from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. First and foremost, the gradual transformation of the Iberian *Reconquista* from a war based purely on political and economic factors to a Christian offensive with papal support, profoundly changed the involvement of Normans and Anglo-Normans in the peninsula. Moreover, the development of the crusades to the East and the desire of the papacy to give the *Reconquista* the same status as the Eastern offensive against Islam also helped to attract interest from contingents on their way to the Holy Land. The kingdoms of Aragon and Portugal were in the end to benefit most by the arrivals of these contingents in their domestic campaigns against the Muslim. The input of these foreign contingents from the lands that gradually came under the domination of the Norman ducal house and its Plantagenet successors, did not prove to be substantial in the long stretch of time from the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova (1031) to the conquest of Seville (1248) by the armies of King Fernando III.

However, despite the protagonist-role played by the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, a factor recognized by contemporary chroniclers in England, Norman and Anglo-Norman participation in the campaigns of these two kingdoms was limited. Matthew Paris praised the king of Castile when he cited

the embassy of 1248 in a letter sent to Henry III. Moreover he favourably compared the Castilian monarch with the French and their monarch.

*Victoriosissimus rex Castellæ Andephulsus nuntium sollemnem ad regem Angliæ pio affectu destinavit unum scilicet militem eloquentem et elegantem per quem persuasit efficaciter et amicabiliter, utpote consanguineum et specialiter iccirco dilectum, quantinus peregrinaturus vestigia regis Francorum minime sequeretur, vel superbiam Francorum imitaretur; immo potius per ipsum securus transmear, et ipse rex A. ipsum concomitaretur comes indivisus et adjunctor indefessus, in victualibus, armis, et navigio provisurus, Ex hujus nuntii relatione accepimus, quod idem rex A. post captionem Sibellæ (Seville) civitis opulentissimæ, tota fere Hispania usque ad mare in suma jam cessit ditionem.*⁸⁷⁷

As earlier chapters have demonstrated, relations between England and Leon and Castile in particular were not remote, especially in the later decades of the twelfth century. As such it seems unlikely that for the Normans and later Anglo-Normans, who went to the peninsula to look for wealth, glory and spiritual reward, the very prolific and powerful kingdoms at the centre of the peninsula would not have attracted their attention. To explain the puzzling lack of reference to Normans and Anglo-Normans in the campaigns of reconquest there from the early eleventh to the first half of the thirteenth centuries, one must look at a variety of factors.

One factor that obviously conspired to keep the Normans and Anglo-Normans interested in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon was their

⁸⁷⁷ The mistake between the names of the kings of Castile-Leon, could easily have occurred because 'Alfonso' was the most common name among Iberian monarchs. Moreover, Matthew Paris, not being Iberian, was perhaps more prone to such mistake. *CMJ*, V, 231-232.

geographical position in the peninsula. The majority of Anglo-Norman expeditions that were involved in the *Reconquista* came by sea and were involved in coastal or near coastal conquest. For example, Lisbon and Tortosa were near to the coast on the banks of the delta of great rivers. Silves, Valencia and Alcaçer do Sal were also coastal towns (See Map 5). This kind of campaign was especially difficult for the Castilian and Leonese to undertake from the early eleventh century, since the conquests of these two kingdoms in their struggle against the Moors were mainly inland. This was partially due to the fact that they were flanked by each other and by the growing Portuguese and Aragonese kingdoms which continuously put a check on any expansion in that direction.⁸⁷⁸ There were some expeditions that broke this tendency, such as the adventures of Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar (El Cid) into Valencia (1095) and the conquest of Almeria in 1147.⁸⁷⁹ However in these two cases, other conditions seem to have hampered Anglo-Norman interest.

However, the land-locked position does not explain so easily why there was so little interest from the Normans before the First Crusade to the Holy Land and in the decades that followed, as it is clear from earlier sections in this thesis that there were Normans who took part in inland campaigns in the Aragonese struggle. For example, Robert Burdet and Rotrou of Perche were involved in campaigns in the Ebro valley led by Alfonso I the Battler of Aragon.⁸⁸⁰ This is noticeable, as it is well known that another group of northern French nobles from the ducal house of Burgundy (Raymond and Henry) came

⁸⁷⁸ L. Suárez Fernández, *Historia de España: Edad Media* (Madrid, 1970), 220-289.

⁸⁷⁹ *La Conquista de al-Andaluz*, trans., M. Pénelas (Madrid, 2002), 105; 'Historia Roderici', 135-136.

⁸⁸⁰ OV, VI, 402, 404-405; McCrank, 'Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest', 78; Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne*, 156-157.

to Castile-Leon during the reign of Alfonso VI and married two of his daughters (Urraca and Teresa).⁸⁸¹

There were other factors that might have kept the Normans away from these two kingdoms in the eleventh century. An obvious reason for the lack of involvement was the very distinctive political situation of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile during this period. Whilst the eleventh century saw a great expansion of the Castilian and Leonese kingdoms southward, at the expense of the Taifa kingdoms that had risen to fill the vacuum of power left by the Caliphate of Cordova, in the twelfth century the Castilians and Leonese only saw minor conquests of Muslim territories and were more often involved in war against each other and other Christian peninsular powers.⁸⁸² Internal conflict in these kingdoms also occurred during this period, where the local nobility took advantage of the weakness of the monarchy and opted for open revolts.⁸⁸³ This situation would have made any Norman involvement problematic. In the second half of the eleventh century, during the reign of Alfonso VI of Castile-Leon, the conqueror of Toledo, it might have seemed ideal for the Normans to play a role in Castile-Leon, as this monarch was happy to attract contingents from northern France. However, it did not happen because of the fact that in 1066 the duke of Normandy conquered England. As

⁸⁸¹ CGE, I, 520-521.

⁸⁸² Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, 74-98, 181-199; S. Barton, *The Aristocracy in twelfth-century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), 148-149.

⁸⁸³ E. Pascua, 'South of the Pyrenees: kings, magnates and political bargaining in twelfth-century Spain', *JMH*, XXVII (2001), 105-112.

has been argued, this diminished the involvement of Normans in other theatres of war across Europe in the following decades.⁸⁸⁴

The kingdoms of Leon and Castile in the first half of the twelfth century saw a period of civil war that slowed down any further major conquests into Muslim territories. It was not until Alfonso VII started his crusade to take Almeria and Jaen that an opportunity arose for the Anglo-Norman contingents to participate in the campaigns of these kingdoms. Despite this, evidence for their contribution is often lacking. It seems more likely that the conquest of Lisbon, which occurred simultaneously, managed to attract all the interested Anglo-Normans away from their journey south to reach the Mediterranean. If any actually stopped in Almeria it seems most likely that it was after it had already fallen to Alfonso VII and his Barcelonese and Genoese allies.

Moreover, after the death of Alfonso VII the two kingdoms were once more divided among his descendants, a factor that helped to keep the interest for reconquest more or less dormant, apart from seasonal raids by the nobility and the military orders.⁸⁸⁵ However, in 1159 an apparent desire by the kings of England and France to launch a crusading venture in Spain during the minority of Alfonso VIII in Castile, was discouraged by Pope Adrian IV who, in his previous career as abbot of Saint Ruffus, may have been instrumental in

⁸⁸⁴ B. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under Alfonso VI* (Princeton, 1988), 161-173; Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, 25-47; Golding, *Conquest and Colonization*, 27-85; A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Bury St Edmunds, 1997), 7-23, 98-125; Thomas, *The English and the Normans*, 105-137; Pascua, 'Kings, magnates and political bargaining in Twelfth-century Spain', 101-120.

⁸⁸⁵ MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages*, 15-25.

promoting Anglo-Norman involvement in the conquest of Tortosa.⁸⁸⁶ Occasionally some attempts were made by the monarchs of the two kingdoms to stir crusading fervour in order to expand south, as in the period following the Third Crusade when the Almohads mustered a large army and were confronted by Alfonso VIII at Alarcos.⁸⁸⁷ More importantly, although the kingdoms of Leon and Castile managed to acquire fortresses and towns, the rising power of the Almohads together with their own disputes kept these two kingdoms at bay.⁸⁸⁸

The thirteenth century saw the virtual completion of the *Reconquista* after the spectacular victory at Las Navas de Tolosa. Although, there might have been some input by English contingents, the evidence is sporadic and not detailed enough to really claim that the Anglo-Normans had substantial interest in the reconquest in Castile and Leon.

Another factor that discouraged the monarchs of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile from inviting the contribution of foreigners in the *Reconquista* under normal circumstances, was that both kingdoms experienced a larger increase of population in the twelfth century.⁸⁸⁹ This seems to have occurred as a result of the conquest of Toledo in 1085 and the expansion of the frontier south from el Duero valley, a situation that produced a greater sense of

⁸⁸⁶ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, doc. 103; Smith, 'The Abbot-Crusader Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia', 30-32.

⁸⁸⁷ *Crónica de veinte reyes*, 279-278; Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 97.

⁸⁸⁸ G. Jackson, *The Making of Medieval Spain* (London, 1972) 70-81; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 191-304.

⁸⁸⁹ See: C. Estepa, 'Sobre las revueltas burguesas en el siglo XII en el reino de León', *AL*, XXVIII (1974), 291-307; S. De Moxó, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval* (Madrid, 1979), 458-470.

security for a larger section of this Christian kingdom.⁸⁹⁰ Moreover, it gave the kingdoms a larger area of fertile land on the banks of the Tagus and Duero rivers. The growth in population made it unnecessary for these Iberian monarchs to enlist the aid of foreign crusaders.⁸⁹¹ The participation, therefore, of foreigners in the campaigns of re-conquest launched by the Castilian and Leonese monarchs, might have been reduced to the time when these kings felt that their own growing population and their nobility were incapable militarily of defeating the growing menace of the Almoravid and Almohad invasions.⁸⁹² For example, Alfonso VIII called on the English and French monarchs for help after his spectacular defeat in the battle of Alarcos in 1195.⁸⁹³ That call was taken up by troubadours who, although raising interest in the events of the peninsula, failed to produce any recorded renewed involvement of Normans or Anglo-Normans in the *Reconquista*.⁸⁹⁴ Apart from the Crusade of 1212, the participation of substantial numbers of foreigners and, more importantly for the subject of this thesis, Norman and Anglo-Normans, was not substantial in any way.

With regard to the rise in population of the kingdoms of Leon, Castile and Navarre, there was another significant phenomenon, which partly conflicts with the previous point. This is the increasing traffic and arrival of pilgrims *en*

⁸⁹⁰ S. Prous Zaragoza, 'La Iglesia de Toledo', in *En la España medieval IV: Estudios dedicados al Profesor D. Ángel Ferrari Núñez*, II, ed. M. A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1984), 833-839.

⁸⁹¹ S. de Moxó, *Feudalismo, señorío y nobleza en la Castilla medieval* (Madrid, 2000), 332-333, 237-244, 254-262.

⁸⁹² Barton, *The Aristocracy*, 148-184.

⁸⁹³ Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 258.

⁸⁹⁴ C. Alvar, ed., *Textos trovadorescos sobre España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1978), 235-236.

route to Saint James of Compostella in Galicia.⁸⁹⁵ The trail of Saint James throughout the twelfth century served to attract innumerable immigrants from France and other areas of western Europe, who managed to settle down in the growing cities of northern Iberia from Pamplona (Iruña) and Estella (Lizarra) to Saint James itself.⁸⁹⁶ This migrant population created distinctive communities within the walls of several towns and their status was acknowledged in local *fueros*.⁸⁹⁷ However, from references to English and Norman settlers, there did not seem to have been any drive for conquest. These settlers came to Iberia as part of an unarmed pilgrimage to the famous shrine and decided to stay in one of the cities they visited on the way. Moreover, these pilgrims were usually non-combatants from either the merchant or artisan castes. For the Iberian monarchs of Leon and Castile these immigrants were not encouraged to get involved in actual military campaigns, but their role in repopulation can be appreciated in charters and documents from cities as far south as Seville and Jerez de la Frontera.⁸⁹⁸ Of course these foreign communities within city walls, under their system of *fueros*, were obliged at certain times to get involved in military actions on behalf of the Castilian monarch. Despite this there are no direct references to the specific actions of city militias with Norman or English combatants.

The probable reason for this was that most of them were not militarily trained. It is also likely that the unruly Castilian and Leonese nobility would

⁸⁹⁵ J. Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media, siglos IX-XIII* (Madrid, 1989), 68-74, 177.

⁸⁹⁶ Torres Sevilla Quiñones de León, *Las batallas legendarias*, 66-67.

⁸⁹⁷ J. M. Mínguez, *La España de los siglos VI al XIII* (San Sebastián, 2004), 276-278; Muñoz y Romero ed., *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas*, 363, 375; France, *The Crusades*, 148.

⁸⁹⁸ González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, I, 332, 346, 547.

have opposed the contribution of foreigners in the campaigns of conquest, especially if they were clearly not needed.⁸⁹⁹ For this reason, the monarchs of Castile and Leon encouraged only foreign involvement when it was tactically extremely difficult to achieve victory with only the support of their local nobility, or when a substantial defeat had happened and they were afraid of being incapable of defending themselves and their territories with local resources alone, as after the defeat of Alarcos.⁹⁰⁰ Even when that was the case, other circumstances discouraged that eventuality.

In the second half of the eleventh century, which saw the greatest advances in the reconquest for Castile and Leon, the Norman nobility was busy either with the conquest of England (post 1066) or with the call for the First Crusade, reasons that conspired to keep the Norman interest completely away from the peninsular conflict. Another factor that helped reduce Norman and Anglo-Norman intervention in the campaigns of reconquest in Leon and Castile may have been the political disputes that arose between these kingdoms and the Anglo-Norman crown of England. This is even more likely in the second half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. The marriage alliance of Alfonso VIII with Eleanor of England during the reign of Henry II brought many problems to the relationship between Castile and England that would last until the reign of Alfonso X, whose attempts to gain Gascony would bring the relationship between Leon-Castile and England closer to an alliance.⁹⁰¹ On the other hand, during the independence of Leon

⁸⁹⁹ France, *The Crusades*, 147.

⁹⁰⁰ Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de cruzada*, 97-102; *RHLE*, 353-358.

⁹⁰¹ B. Weiler, 'Political Discourse in Latin Christendom', *IHR*, XXV, i (2003), 14.

(1157-1230) in the reigns of Fernando II and Alfonso IX, the *Reconquista* saw little activity. At one point, the pope even launched a crusade against Alfonso IX of Leon for his friendly stance towards the Almohads.⁹⁰²

It is evident that in the other great northern expeditions involved in the Iberian reconquest during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a significant number of crusaders stopped at Saint James to give their offerings and to pay tribute to the saint. However, the stream of pilgrims travelling to the shrine from England, Normandy and Aquitaine throughout the twelfth and thirteen centuries was hardly increased by the sporadic arrival of crusaders *en route* to the Holy Land, the crusader campaigns of the *Reconquista*. It is, however, hard to assert that the pilgrimage route to Saint James boosted Anglo-Norman interest in the *Reconquista*. The rigorous conditions of the trip from England by land through France and Spain, or by sea through the stormy passage of the Bay of Biscay, to Saint James, were attractive to some pilgrims prepared to undertake such a journey as a test of faith in order to gain divine forgiveness.⁹⁰³ Their return journey might have helped to bring to England news of the *Reconquista* which, as has been explained above, started to be recorded in the Chronicle of Orderic Vitalis, but which really took off in the second half of the twelfth century. The conflict was thus brought closer to home and encouraged Anglo-Norman contributions in later expeditions.

Apart from the fact that large numbers of Normans and later Anglo-Normans were involved, the involvement was far from homogenous

⁹⁰² O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 62-64.

⁹⁰³ Mullins, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago* (London, 1976), 58.

throughout the period. As explored above, the time and place of participation corresponded to a series of historical factors ranging from religious fervour to social and political circumstances in Iberia and in the Anglo-Norman realms. First and foremost is the gradual transformation of the ideology of Holy War, in the process historically called the *Reconquista* and how this not only changed the Islamic-Christian conflict in the minds of the Iberian participants, but also in those of the Anglo-Normans. Secondly, the involvement of the Normans and later the Anglo-Norman shows that for these groups, the Iberian struggle was a worthy theatre of action for the ventures that modern historians call crusades. Thirdly, the transformation of the political situations both within the Christian and Islamic realms of the peninsula, as well as those under the ducal Norman house and its successors, changed the level of involvement of these contingents in the peninsular conflict. Various combinations of circumstances conspired at different times to discourage any substantial input by the Normans and Anglo-Normans until the mid-thirteenth century.

Although after the fall of Seville, the *Reconquista* seemed almost complete with the total subjugation of Granada, the last Islamic Taifa kingdom, to the status of vassal state of Castile, there were some episodes of great excitement before its final fall of Granada to the Catholic kings in 1492.⁹⁰⁴ The most important of these episodes in relation to foreign participants, was perhaps the siege of Algeciras in 1342, led by Alfonso XI of Castile-Leon, where English and French contingents were present.⁹⁰⁵ However, by this date

⁹⁰⁴ J. Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Kings* (Oxford, 2000), 101-140; E. Benito Ruano, 'Extranjeros en la Guerra de Granada', *Gente del Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1998), 167-204.

⁹⁰⁵ *Et el conde de Arbi (Earl of Derby) et el conde de Salusber (Earl of Salisbury) omnes de grand guisa del regnado de Ingalaterra, venian á la guerra de los moros para la salvación de*

the fever of crusade had waned and the leaders of this expedition had a completely different set of motives from those in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Castile-Leon even became a theatre of confrontation in the Hundred Years War between England and France.⁹⁰⁶ Certainly, the crusading inspiration of Iberia probably helped to romanticize this theatre of war in the 'Golden Age of Chivalry'. Moreover, even in the conquest of Granada, there was a substantial group of English crusaders led by important figures such as Sir Edward Woodville.⁹⁰⁷ Thus, although Castile and Leon did not see substantial participation of Anglo-Normans in the most important phases of its *Reconquista* (1031-1109 and 1212-1247), the image of these kingdoms was not diminished in the minds of the Anglo-Norman nobility and their successors.

This thesis has argued, that like the term crusade, the definition of *Reconquista* is also an issue for modern historians. It is apparent that the idea of expelling Islamic political domination over the peninsula seemed to have been a pressing matter for the different Christian realms of the peninsula, especially from the early eleventh century when the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova was realisable and the opportunity for substantial

sus almas, et otrosi per ver et conoscer al Rey...Et como quer que el Conde de Arbi era de mas alta sangre, et era de linaje de Reyes; pero el conde de Salusber aviase acæscido en muchos fechos de lides et de batallas, de que avia un oio menos de un ferida. 'Crónica de Alfonso XI', *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, I, ed. C. Rosell (Madrid, 1875), 360-361. It is interesting to notice the reference to the motives of these late English crusaders in this Iberian source. It shows that the spirit of crusading was still alive. However, it is well known, that in this episode, the English were present for more political reasons than religious ones relating to the Hundred Years War and the position of Castile in that conflict, as it is tacitly recognised by the author of the chronicle. Russell, *The English Interventions in Spain and Portugal*, 7-8. To read more about the status of crusade of the campaign against Algeciras of Alfonso XI of Castile Leon and his negotiations with Pope Clement VI see: L. Serrano, *Alfonso XI y Clemente VI durante el cerco de Algeciras* (Madrid, 1915), 3-21.

⁹⁰⁶ Russell, *The English Interventions in Spain and Portugal*, 83-525.

⁹⁰⁷ E. Benito Ruano, 'Un Cruzado Inglés en la Guerra de Granada', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, IX (1979), 585-593.

military victories against Islam appeared. The idea of Visigothic restoration might have been used as an ideological framework for the Astur-Leonese realms and their successors (Leon, Castile and Portugal), but the reality was a politically disunited Christian community in the peninsula. This was an important reason to look elsewhere for a more uniting ideology for the expansion of the Christian domination of the peninsula. The change from a political reconquest to a Christian reconquest thus seems to have accorded theologically with the gradual extension of the ecclesiastical concept of *Bellum iustum*. Of course the introduction of the idea of Holy War and, later, of crusade, into the peninsula, did not develop as a master plan by any particular group, but as a gradual process which accelerated by the gradual forging of closer links between the areas of interest. From the eleventh century these were producing contacts like the introduction of the Roman rite and the formation marriage alliances.

The evolving patterns of involvement of the Norman nobility seem to show this gradual change from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. As the wars in Iberia came to be regarded increasingly as a legitimate area of crusading by the papacy and church in general, the appeal of this expedition seems to have extended beyond the high aristocrats in disgrace or in search of fortune, to larger groups which were prepared to get involved as part of the crusading venture, as is apparent with the conquest of Lisbon and Tortosa during the Second Crusade. However, this is not to say that those Normans and later Anglo-Normans who got involved in the *Reconquista* before and after the First Crusade, did so strictly for a religious reason, as they were certainly

no different in that respect to those involved in the Holy Land. The gradual reduction of interest in the Iberian struggle is not perhaps an indication of the loss of crusading status that the *Reconquista* suffered during the thirteenth century, but of the successes that seem to have followed the papal-backed crusade of Las Navas de Tolosa, especially in comparison to the gradual destruction of the Latin settlements in the East, which presented this theatre as a more pressing necessity.

The involvement of the Norman and later Anglo-Norman participation in the peninsular conflict occurred and transformed itself not only as a result of the changing theological views of the Roman clergy in relation to the worthiness of the Iberian struggle, but as a result of the changing political circumstances with the Norman and later Anglo-Norman realms, which both encouraged and sometimes discouraged involvement. Even when diplomatic relations between the peninsular and Anglo-Norman realms started to become more regular and close with the advent of the Plantagenets, this did not necessarily produce an increase in their contribution in Iberia. On the contrary it seems to have contributed with other factors to the gradual decline of their involvement, although both Henry II and Richard I at times appeared to have been interested in directly intervening in Iberia. The gradual changes in the different realms in the peninsula, also produced circumstances that helped to attract interest at certain times, but also helped to discourage the involvement of foreigners. Ultimately the ever-changing patterns of Norman and Anglo-Norman involvements in the Iberian *Reconquista* can be seen as evidence of

the changing nature of the conflict between Christianity and Islam in the peninsula in the Middle Ages.

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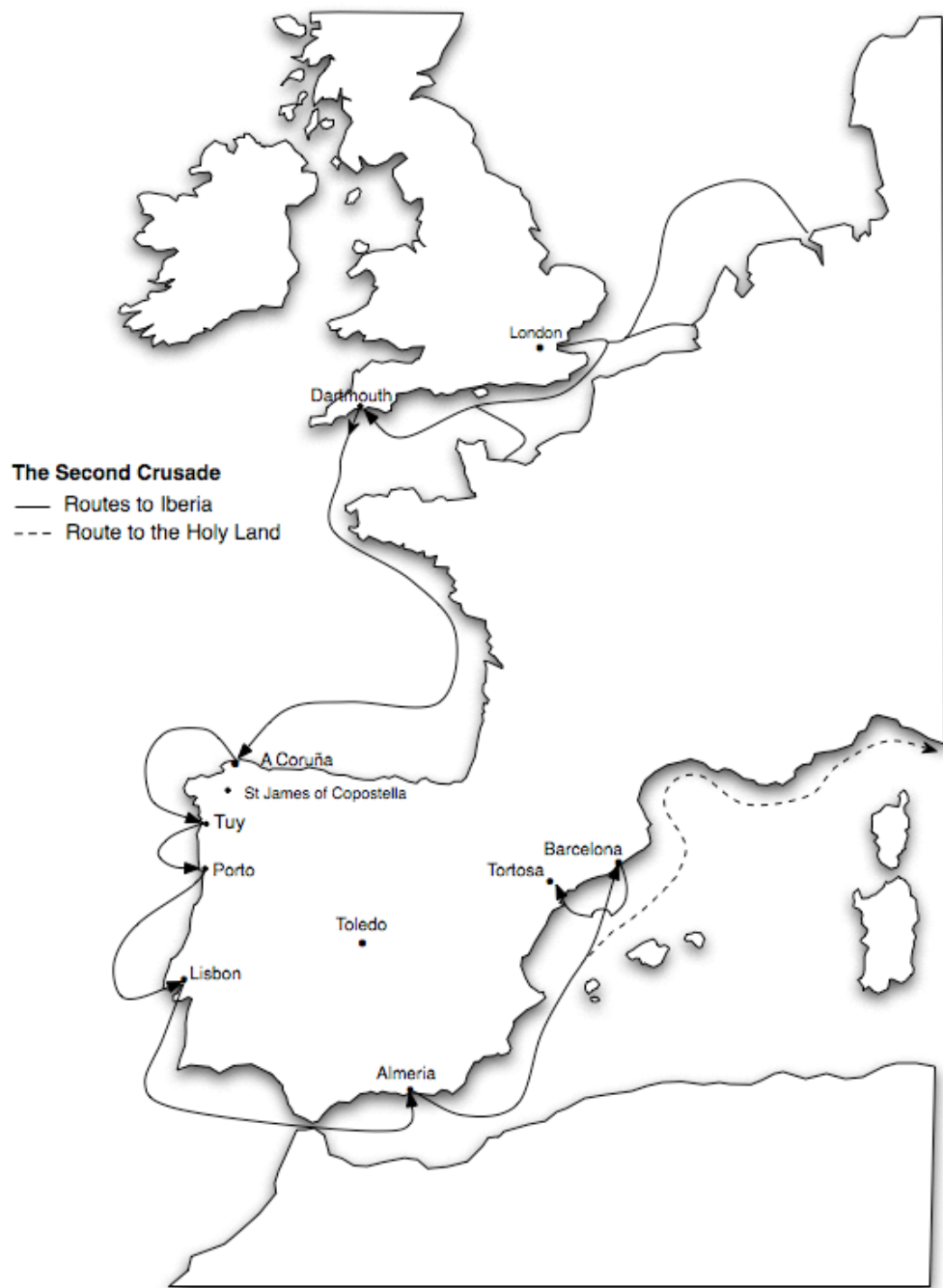
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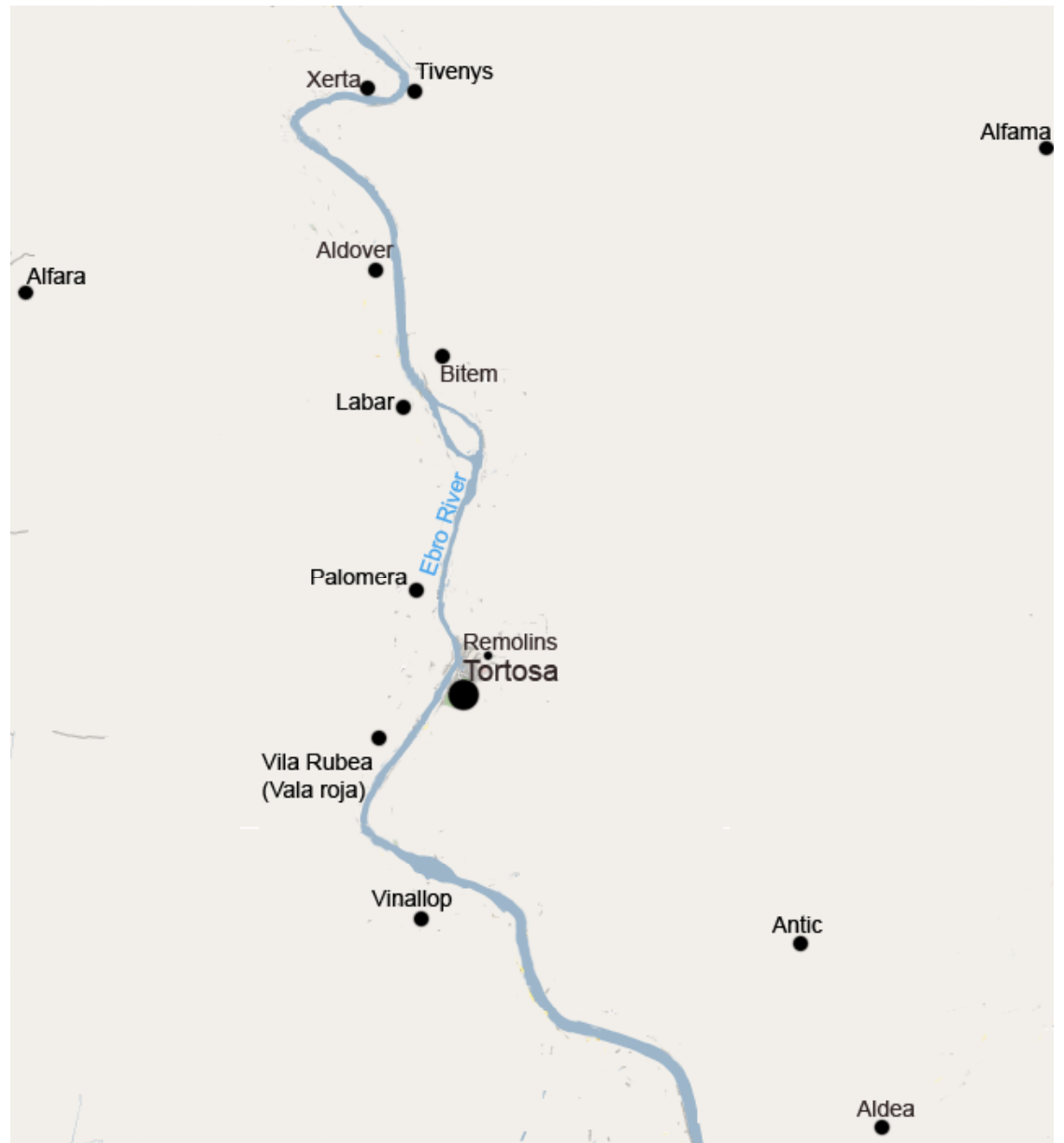
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Maps



Map of sea routes of the Second Crusade (Map 1).



Map of the Territory of Tortosa with its corresponding villages (Map 2).



Map of the City of Tortosa 1150-1200 (Map 3).⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁸ Based on Virgili, *Ad deprimendum Yspanie*, 77.



Iberia 1000 AD (Map 4).⁹⁰⁹



Iberia c. 1170 AD (Map 5).⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁹ O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 2.

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

Appendix

This section is made for the purpose of arranging in a tabular form, the charters relating to the settlement of the valley of the Ebro from Tudela to Tarragona chronologically. Each charter is given a serial number for easy reference and has a brief description of its content under 'Description'. In the table there is also a section for the witnesses or signatories for each document. In this section only the Norman or Anglo-Norman names are given, so if there is no one mentioned in this section under a particular document, it means there was not any Norman or Anglo-Norman named. The table also has a section for the charters' location and where they have been published and where are the originals held. At the end of the list, there is an Index of names for the Norman and Anglo-Norman settlers. For a geographical position of the lands mentioned see the maps 3 and 4.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
1	1118/1119	This is the original fuero of Saragossa after its conquest by Alfonso I of Aragon. The charter does not contain the name of Rotrou or Robert anywhere, which suggests that the claim that Rotrou was present at the fall of the city, which La Cronica de San Juan de la Peña proclaimed is not accurate.		lost					Muños y Romero ed., <i>Colección de Fueros Municipales y Cartas Pueblas</i> , I, 448-449.
2	1119	Donation by Rotrou, Count of Perche, of some large amount of Salt to the monks of Tiron for the salvation of his soul. It confirms that by this date Rotrou was in Normandy.	Rotrou of Perche	lost					<i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron</i> , ed. M. L. Merlet, I, doc. 22.
3	1120/1123	Fuero given to the city of Saragossa by Alfonso I and known as the Privilege of the twenty.		lost		Molino, <i>Repertorium fororum et obsevatiarum regni Aragonum</i> , fol 265.			Muños y Romero ed. <i>Colección de Fueros Municipales y Cartas Pueblas</i> , I, 451-453.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
4	1121 April 14 & 16,	Three Charters of purchase of some houses in Saragossa by Raol de Larrassunna.	A Fobert or Robert appears as witness but no surname is given.	ASZ, Cartulary f. 46 v.					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la Reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , II, doc. 20.
5	1121-1124 April 2, Lateran	Calixtus II proclaims war against all the Moors in Spain, and offers to all the Bishops, princes and faithful the same kind of indulgences offered to those going to the Holy Land.		lost	Spanish Embassy in Rome Archive, Cod 229, fol. 35 Bullarium et Brevium				Mansilla, <i>La documentación pontificia</i> , doc. 62.
6	1123 April	Count Rotrou donates some houses to Sabino, which used to belong to the Alcaide Aben Alimen.		lost	Molino, Repertorium fororum et obsevatiarum regni Aragonum, f. 265.				Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la Reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , V, doc. 308.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
7	1124 December	Alfonso I gives the brothers Fruela and Pelayo three castles besides Huerva and the Castle of Alcañiz. Rotrou appears as lord of Tudela.	Robert Burdet	APZ, arm 9, cax. 1 lig. 1, num 8,					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el Estudio de la Reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , V, doc 311.
8	1125 February 28	Imes and his wife Boneta sell two tents to Sancho bishop of Calagurratano. Rotrou appers as lord of Tudela and Robert Burdet as castellan.		ACC, n. 11					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el Estudio de la Reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 129.
9	1125 April 22	Oriol Garciez buys from Salvador and his wife Maria Iñiguez some houses in Tudela that used to belong to Maomat Abenaadriz. Rotrou of Perche and Robert Burdet are mentioned with their respective positions in the city.		ACTu, pergs. n. 4					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 125.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
10	1125 June	Stephen, grammarian of Alfonso I and Abbot of Santa Maria de Tudela, makes a donation to Sancho, scribe of Alfonso I, of a mosque besides the alhandaka, in return for the three solidos that he gave for the construction of the porch of the foresaid church. Rotrou appears as lord of Tudela.		ACTu, perg. n. 8					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , V, doc. 316.
11	1126 February 26	Aimes and his wife Boneta sell two tents to the Bishop of Calahorra. The charter claims that at the time Alfonso I was in Andalusia campaigning. It also mentions Rotrou as Lord of Tudela and Robert as in charge of the castle of Tudela.		ACC, n. 17.					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 129.
12	1127 August	Alfonso I gives to Fortun Garces Caxal some houses that belonged to Iben Henderiz de Tarrazona. Rotrou appears as Lord of Tudela.		AHN, Cartulary of Santa Cristiana, f. 24r-24v..					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el Estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , V, doc. 321.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
13	1127 August	Charter in which Alfonso I grants the fueros to Tudela. Both Rotrou and Robert are mentioned.		lost				Diccionario Geografico-Histórico de España publicado por la Real Academia de la Historia, II, 562.	Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , V, doc. 316
14	1128 February	Alfonso I gives to Garcia Aznar the houses that used to belong to Aben Forcagon in Ribas. Rotrou unlike the following charter issued in Castilnuevo, he does not appear as Lord of Tudela or as anything. This seems to suggest that Rotrou may have returned to Aragon in March of 1128. However it may also suggest that he was just not with the king at this time.		lost	Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, documentos del Santo Sepulcro de Calatayud, R 1 moved in 1277.				Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 140.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
15	1128 March	Alfonso I gives to Pedro Ortiz de Lizana two pieces of land in Mesones for building houses. Rotrou appears as Lord of Tudela.		AHN, Cartulary of Montearagon, cod. 1067, f. 32.					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 141.
16	1128 April 1	Testament of Raimundo Mironis.	The scribe is named Reginald Anglicus	ACA, Cartulary, no. 784, f. 255.					<i>Cartulario de Santcugat de Valles</i> , ed, Rius Serra, doc 898.
17	1128 May	Alfonso I gives to Pedro Ortiz de Lizana the farm of Mesones. Rotrou appears as Lord of Tudela.		BNE, Madrid, ms. 746, pag. 83.					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 142.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
18	1128 December	Alfonso I gives the village and the Castle of Corella to Rotrou of Perche.		lost	AMC, Copy from the 13th Century, doc. 57.				Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , V, 512.
19	1129 January	Alfonso I gives to Fortun Iñiguez de San Celedonio some land in Ribarroja.		AHN, Madrid, St John of Jerusalem Priory of Navarre, leg. 716-718.					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 153.
20	1129 March 14	Charter of the donation of Tarragona by Archbishop Olegario to Robert Burdet. Olegario maintains control over all the churches in the territory and Robert promises to restore the city.	Robert Prince of Tarragona, Olegario Archbishop of Tarragona	lost	ACT, Ancient Copy,. Libro de signatura 9, n.º 16, fol 17 (lost)	ACA, 14th Century Transcription, Cancilleria, Registro n.º 3, fol. 6.	ACA, 14th Century Transcription, Patrimonio Real Clase 4a, nº 2, fol 2 a)		Font Rius, <i>Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña</i> , I, doc. 51.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
21	1129 March or later	Charter of fueros of Tarragona granted by Robert Burdet some time after his arrival in Tarragona. He gives them exemption from taxation except for tithes and first fruits.		lost					Reference to the existence of this document is discussed in: Font Rius, <i>Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña</i> , I, doc. 52
22	1130 October 26, Bayona	Alfonso I grants the fueros of Tudela to the people of Corella.	Rotrou of Perche	lost	AMC, Copy from the late 12th century, Leg. 1, doc. 2. (A).				Rodríguez de Lama, <i>Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja</i> , II, doc. 98.
23	1131 November	Galin Sanz and his wife Toda change with his brother Gonzalo Galandiz the brotherhood that they had in Tudela, for the one he had in Huesca. Rotrou and Robert are still mentioned with their respective position in Tudela.		ACTu, num. 1.059 (A) and 1.060 (B)					Lacarra, 'Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación de el valle de el Ebro', <i>EEMCA</i> , III, doc. 165.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
24	1132 March	Alfonso I grants the Fuero of Asin.	Rotrou of Perche	Royal Archive of Barcelona, lost.					Muñoz y Romero, <i>Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas</i> , I, doc. 505.
25	1145 February 23	Agreement made between Ramon Berenguer IV and Gerallus Alamanni over the castle of Monte Acuto, Monatclar, villa de Mager, Pontils, Sancta Perpetua.	William Aquilon the son of Robert Burdet	ACA, Royal Cartulary, , Perg. Ramón Berenguer IV, n. 172.					Bofarull, <i>Coleccion de documentos ineditos de el archivo de la corona de Argaon</i> , IV, 99 -101.
26	1148 January 4	Agreement proposed by Robert Burdet to Bernard Tort over the government of Tarragona. The prince agrees to maintain the norms for the designation of the local authorities, their performance in office and their fidelity. The exception of Sunday dues is extended to the new inhabitants of the city and its territory,		Lost, it existed in the Archive of the Archdioceses of Tarragona.	Transcription of the eighteenth century in Mari M, <i>Thesaurus Sanctae Metropolitanae Eccelsiae, Tarraconensis</i> , 182-184. (Ms. in the Archive of the Archdioceses of Tarragona)				Muñoz y Romero, <i>Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas</i> , I, doc. 66.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
27	1148/1149 No Date	Charter of Franchises given by Count Ramon Berenguer IV granted to the population of the newly conquered city of Tortosa.	ACA, Cancilleria, perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, n. 2.						Font Rius, <i>Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña</i> , I, doc. 68.
28	1149 February 9	Donation of the city and territory of Tarragona to Robert, Prince, by Bernard Tort, archbishop of Tarragona. It confirms the donation previously by his predecessor Olegario. The archbishop will now take a fifth from all the rents. He also establishes an oven and a mill. The prince and the archbishop agree to designate together the local judges and their powers. They offer the new inhabitants exception from Sunday dues.	Robert Prince of Tarragona, Agnes his wife, William Burdet, Bernard Tort Archbishop of Tarragona	lost	ACT, Ancient copy of the Cathedral of Tarragona lost.	ACA, 14th Century Transcription, Cancilleria, Registro n.º 3, f. 4. a.	ACA, 15th Century Transcription, Patrimonio Real Clase 4a, f. 3 v. b.		Muñoz y Romero, <i>Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas</i> , I, doc. 69.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
29	1149 April 9	Donation of mount Magons in the territory of Tarragona made by Poncio of Timor to the brothers Guillermo de Vilafranca and Ramon Arnaldo for the purpose of building a castle.	Robert Prince of Tarragona, Agnes his wife, Bernard Tort Archbishop of Tarragona	lost	AMT, 1235 Transcription, parchment				Muñoz y Romero, <i>Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas</i> , I, doc. 70.
30	1149 September 3	Charter of Franchises given by Prince Robert to the citizens of Tarragona. It confirms previous rights not to pay dues except from tithes and first fruits. The prince places the citizens under his jurisdiction. The archbishop approves this charter.	Robert Prince of Tarragona, Agnes his wife, William of Aquilon, Robert Burdet (II), Bernard Tort, Archbishop of Tarragona	lost	reference to it in Morera, Tarragona Cristiana, I, 441.				Muñoz y Romero, <i>Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas</i> , I, doc. 73.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
31	1149 November 2	Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona and Prince of Aragon, with the common accord of the noble consuls and the glorious people of Genova, of Peter Master of the Templars and his brothers, and for the faithful petition of the pilgrims (crusaders) that came from England and the other lands across the sea to the siege of Tortosa with the rest of the army, gives to the order of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem, to Thomas and to the other canons of the order, some houses of the son of Ferri Alamin, a Saracen, a citizen of Tortosa, located inside the walls in the ville of Remolins, with all the rights and	Balluini of Carona (Charone?) appear as <i>Stabulari</i> of the English forces, Robert Burdet Prince of Tarragona	ADB, Fons de Santa Ana, carp. 6, perg.10.	ADB, Santa Anna, carp. 6, perg. 11.	ADB, Santa Anna, carp. 6. perg. 9.			<i>L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200</i> , ed. Alturo i Perucho, doc. 268.
32	1150 Octubre 15	The Count Ramon Berenguer IV gives to Roland of Morlans some houses in Tortosa that used to belong to Muhamad Algamari (Moor).		lost	ACA, Cartulary of the Priory of the Templars of Tortosa, doc 231.				Miret i Sans, <i>Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya</i> , 60.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
33	1151 January 1	Count of Barcelona grants houses within Tortosa, which belonged originally to some Moors, to Gilbert Anglici and his successors.		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, fs. 108v-109r.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 50.
34	1151 January 25	Donation of Riudoms, in the territory of Tarragona by Prince Robert to Arnaldo de Palomar for the construction and maintenance of a castle to encourage the repopulation of the region.	Robert Burdet I	lost	AADTa, Copy without date made by Romeu, in the presence of Ramon de Llinas, Juan de Tortosa, Guillermo de Rouric y Ferruzon. Lost.	AADTa, Copy of B from the 14th Century, , Codex A-B, Cartulary de Benet de Rocaberti , f. 122 a).			Muñoz y Romero, <i>Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas</i> , I, doc. 84.
35	1151 February 13	Count of Barcelona gives houses within Tortosa, which belonged originally to some Moors, to Guillelm de Trul and his wife Adalaz. There is an Otonis who might be Robert Otonis brother of William Angles.		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, fs. 102.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 52.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
36	1151 March 26	Count Ramon Berenguer IV donates to Petro Oldegario and to his household some houses in Tortosa and an orchard that used to belong to Abraham Zegeil. He also gives him a land beside the wall by a small door. Also, some land which used to belong to Albedaio and some lands in Aldover.	Gerald of Salvanech (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Benifallet, llaver (7: Aldover) (258,157).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 27.
37	1151 August	Bernard Tort returns the principality of Tarragona to Ramón Berenguer IV. The Charter mentions Ramón Berenguer as Prince of Tarragona. Bernard claims that this new arrangement is being don with the consent of Pope Eugeneus III and of the people of Tarragona. Robert Burdet and his family, however, are not mention.		lost	ACA, Royal Cartulary, perg. Ramón Berenguer IV, n. 243.				<i>Liber feudorum maior</i> , I, ed. Rosell, doc. 247.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
38	1151 August 5	Ramon Berenguer IV gives to Bishop and to the church of St Mary's of Tortosa, in honour of the election of Gaufredo as Bishop of the city after its conquest. The count ratifies the donations made by Archbishop Bernard and adds the tenth part of all the comital rents in the city.	Gerald of Selvaniaco (Salvagnac), Gilbert [Anglici]	ACTo, Privilegis i donacions reials, 8 (505, 325).	ACTo, Privilegis i donacions reials, 18	ACTo, Privilegis i donacions reials, 21	ACTo, Comú del capítol, 1, 16.	ACTo, Constitucions, 19.	<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 28.
39	1151 August 7	Dispute between Bernard Tort and Robert and his son Guillermo Aquilon.		lost	ACA, Royal Cartulary, perg. Ramón Berenguer IV n. 242.				Bofarull, <i>Colección de documentos inéditos de el archivo de la corona de Aragón</i> , IV, 196-200; <i>Liber feudorum Maior</i> , ed. Rosell, I, doc, 246.
40	1153 February 28	William of Cor and his brother Berenguer sell land that had belonged to Abcegrei and his sister, to Bishop Geoffrey and the canons of St. Mary's of Tortosa.	Gerald of Salviniaco (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary, 2, Títol IV, fs. 109v-110v.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 37.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
41	1153 July 15	Henricus Nigrapellis exchanges with the bishop and canons of St. Mary's of Tortosa a piece of land which he had by the Ebro for another that they had in Villa Rubea.	Gerald of Sovagne (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Genova, Vila-roja. (3: Vila-roja, 1) (130.135). ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 40.
42	1154 March 6	Petrus de Ragedello for the remedy of his soul and his parents bequeaths to the Church of St. Mary's, Bishop Gaufredo and the canons in perpetuity the possessions of Avindrusc in Chalameran and in Banichalet, which is in the lands of Miravet.	Gerald of Sovagnec (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 144, f. 53.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 54.
43	1154 March 6	Guillelm Aimeric donate to God and tho the Moanstery of St Mary of Poblet an orchard in Petrola on the term of Tortosa, on the other side of the Ebro.	Gerald of Salviniacho (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms. 241, fs. 137r-v.	AHN, Clero secular y Regula, c. 2002, f. 16.			<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 161.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
44	1154 June 13	Andreu Lobret and his wife Breta and his son Iouan sell to Guillelm Arnall two orchards in the area of the arenal. One of the orchards is besides that of Gerald of Morlans.	Gerald de Morlans	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2002, f. 7					<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 163.
45	1154 September 14/24	Donation of Cambrils by Prince Robert to Bertrand for its repopulation.		lost					Reference to it in Joseph Blanch, <i>Arxiepiscopologi</i> , I pag. 93.
46	1154 October	Saurina widow of Ademar and her children sell to Bernard of Sancto Poncio the possessions which they had received from the Count of Tortosa	Gerald of Savagne (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Alfondec (1: Alfondec) (200.154)					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 46.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
47	1154 October 19	Count Ramon Berenguer IV grants to Petro de Sancto Poncio a house which is located against the wall of Tarragona and between the houses of John de Prohins and the houses that used to belong to Ademar Podio and which are by the entrance of the church of St. Mary and the river.	Gerald of Sovagne (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 2, titol III d. II f. 53.	ACTo, Cartulary 9, f. 95r.	ACTo, Cartulary 9A, ps. 243-244.		<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 48.
48	1155 February 8	Taboet and his wife Sancha and their children sell to Gerald of Savagne (Salvagnac) and his family some orchards in Xerta which use to belong to some Moors.		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 102v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 62.
49	1155 February 22	Count Ramon Berenguer IV, Bernard archbishop of Tarragona and Prince Robert of Tarragona grant to the monastery of Poblet the locality of Dol de Lop.	Prince Robert, his wife Agnes and his son William appear as signatories.	lost	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms. 241, f. 161r-161v.				<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 246.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
50	1155 March 5	Petrus of Rajadell grants to the monastery of Poblet some orchards within Tortosa that he inherited from Avin Pedros. Conditions are attached to the donation.	Gerald of Savagnac (Salvagnac)	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2002, f. 13.	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms. 241, f. 129r.				<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 195.
51	1155 March 13	Grimoardus Abbot of Poblet grants to Bernard and his family the honour which the count had given to them in the locality of Xerta.	Gerald of Salvaniacho (Salvagnac)	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2002, f. 18.	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms. 241, f. 133r-133v.				<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 203.
52	1155 March 14	Berenguer Pinol and his wife Ermesenda and his son Berenguer and his wife Ermesend, for the remedy of their soul, donate an orchard located in Banifalet on the side of the Ebro.	Gerald of Salvaniacho (Salvagnac)	lost	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2002, f. 20.	BPT, ms. 241, f. 134v.			<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 170.

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53	1155 April 6	Sibilla wife of Gandolphi Carbonari with the permission of Martin Golias grants a part of a land that she had in Bitem in exchange 70 morabis for charity. The land had been given originally by the count after the conquest from the Saracens.	Gerald of Sovagnec (Salvagnac) and Martin of Sovagne (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 157, f. 60r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 56.
54	1156 May 25	Ramon of Cartelliaco sells to Pere Oleger two lands that he had as concession fro Ramon Berenguer IV for 4 pounds of Dinars and 6 solidos. One was in Bitem and the other in Giramascor.	Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Tevizola (2: Bitem) (260.113).	ACTo, Cartulary, 6, D. 115, F. 43.	ACTo, Cartulary, five, D. 105, fs. 52v-53r.			<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 70.
55	1156 June 29	Brunetus and his wife Paschalia sell a land to Petro of Sancto Matrino, with the land of Alardo (Gerald?) Anglico on the west.		lost.	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 109v				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 70

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56	1156 July 6	Gaimundus and his wife Saurina exchange with William Copons some lands that they had in Penpin and in Villa Nova.	Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Extraintentari (258,,120). ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 75.
57	1155 July 23	Pere Guillemí and his wife Pereta sell to the brothers of the Temple a land in Araval in the territory of Tortosa.	Gerald Salvanege (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5, arm. 4, v. III, doc. 116, f. 37r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període</i> , doc. 3.
58	1156 July 23	Pere Guillelmus, an Aragonese knight with his wife Pereta sell to Americio brother and Master of the Order of the Temple in Tortosa a land on the place known as Araval by the Ebro River.	Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5, arm. 4, v. III, doc. 93, f. 30v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer període</i> , doc. 5.
59	1156 August 1	Brunetus and his wife Paschalia sell a land planted with olives in Villa Nova in the territory of Tortosa to Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac).		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 110.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 72.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
60	1155 August 4	Bartholome Gramiticus donates to San Mary of Tortosa, lands which had been granted it to him by Robert Burdet Prince of Tarragona and his wife Agnes.		lost	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 12 or 15, F. 85r				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 59.
61	1156 September 17	Count Ramon Berenguer IV gives the farm of Xerta to St. Mary's Vallis Lauree.	Gerald of Salviniacho (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 147.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 80.
62	1157 February 8	William of Aquilone and his wife Amaalit give Pere Carbonello and his wife Arsenda a land in Semoll in the county of Barcelona.		AHN, Santas Creus, perg. 33.					<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 74.
63	1157 April 7	Martinus Golia and his wife Sebila sell to Aimericus and the Templars their orchard located in the place known as Palomberia which is within the territory of Tortosa.	Jordan (Anglici?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 189, f. 60v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 6.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
64	1157 April 18	Donation of Burga by Ines/Agnes wife of Robert Burdet in favour of the brothers Berenguer and Thomas Eixumus for its repopulation under the over-lordship of the Church of Tarragona.		lost					Reference to it in: Joseph Blanch, <i>Arxiepiscopologi</i> , I pag. 94
65	1157 April 18	Ugo de Ciger and his wife Gullelma sell to Pere of Santo Minato a pieco of which thay had on the other side of the Ebro from Tortosa. The land is located south west of the land of Matthew Salvanico (Salvagnac).		ACTo, Benifassa, Refalgari, 19 (275,73).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 76.
66	1157 April 29	Pere Compan and his wife Pereta sell to San Mary of Tortosa and Bishop Geoffrey a land which they had in Bitem, in concept of charity.	Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvagnac (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 2, titol IV, d. XXVI, fs. 108v-109.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 79.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
67	1157 May 24	Bertrand of Castelet sells to William Copons a farm known as Antic in the territory of Tortosa with all its buildings and everything that is part of it for 200 morabitanos	Gerald of Salvaneg (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Camarles 41 (267,130)	ACTo, Camarles no number, (220,130).				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 80
68	1157 July 14	Donation of Salou by Prince Robert, his wife Ines and his son Guillermo, with the compliance of Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona and Archbishop Bernard Tort, to Pedro Rasura for its repopulation, the construction of a castle and a village.	Guillelmus Burdet, Agnes, Robert Burdet II	lost					Reference to it in Joseph Blanch, <i>Arxiepiscopologi</i> , I pag. 94
69	1157 August 31	Bernardus Mitifag and his wife Maria Balluuma exchange with Aimerici brother and Master of the Templars in Tortosa one of their lands for 20 Morabatins.	Gerald of Salvanichao (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 194, f. 61v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 8.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
70	1157 October 24	Poncio scribe of the count of Barcelona and Pere Reiadel together grant to St. Mary's of Tortosa and Bishop Gaufrido a land which they share by the Ebro in front of Quart Castle. The land had been originally given to them by the count of Barcelona.	Gerald of Selvaneg (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Trevizola (1: Anglerola) (223,144).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 81.
71	1157 December 14	Ramon abbot of Sant Cugat del Valles exchanges some land with William Aragonese and his wife Pereta. The Land being exchange in Labar is contiguous to the land of Geoffrey Angles.		ACTo, Bonifallet (3: Llaver, Bercat) (210,123) ABC.	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 181, f. 70r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 82.
72	1158 February 8	Osbert Nigrapel and his wife Boneta exchange with Gerald of Salvanico (Salavagnac) a land and an Alzeziram (?) close to Arenis which used to belong to Galib, a Saracen scribe, for a land in Villa Robea and 5 loads of Barley.		ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (4: Arenes) ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 97

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
73	1158 February 9	Pere Stephan and his wife Guia and his cousin Arnou sell to the Jew Haion of Azuz and orchard which had been owned by Avin Ezbaballa for 60 mora	Gerald of Salvanec (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Remolins (3: Vilanova) (234,130).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 98.
74	1158 March 12	Abbot Pere of St. Mary's Valle Laures gives as a fief the honour of Davi Farago Larraic and some other properties (some given to the monastery by Gerald of Selvangech) to Guillelm of Trull and his wife Adelaida. If they wanted to change the arrangement they had to consult with the abbot as well as Gerald of Selviniacho (Salvagnac).	Gerald of Selviniacho (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 3.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 85.
75	1158 April 27	Fulco Rurso pledges a vineyard in Tortosa to Frank Anglicus.	Gerald Anglicus	lost.	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 103v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 77.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
76	1158 May	Gerald of Salviniaco (Salvagnac) with his brother William and his wife Aladais gives some olive orchards in Xerta to the church of St. Mary's Vallis Lauree and Petro the abbot and the brothers there.	Gerald and William Silviniaco (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 104.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 72.
77	1158 May	Guillelm Ramon and his brother Oto bequeath of some olive orchards to St. Mary's Vallis Lauree.	Gerald of Selviniacho (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 112.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 79.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
78	1158 June 6	Agnes, formerly wife of Robert, Count of Tarragona, and her son William Burdet, give to St. Mary of Tortosa, to Bishop Geoffrey and to the canons, with the acknowledgments of Bernard, archbishop of Tarragona and Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona, a land that they have in Vilagrassa and one located at the foot of the city walls of Tarragona, that had be given to Bartholomew. The tithes and first fruits of the church of Tarragona are exempted.		lost	ACTo, Cartulary, 6, d. 213, f. 84.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 88.
79	1158 June 6. Tarragona	Bernard, archbishop of Tarragona gives to St. Mary of Tortosa to bishop Geoffrey and to the canons, a land than he posses in Vilagrassa and one located at the foot of the city walls of Tarragona.		lost	ACTo, Cartulary, 6, 214, fs. 84v-85r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 89.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
80	1158 August 26	Mauricius de `Muners exchanges with the Templars all the lands that he had in Tortosa for a land that the Templars had in Amalep	Gerald of Selvaneco (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 195, f. 61v- 62r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 11.
81	1158 November 16	Gerald of Salvanec (Salvagnac) grants for his soul and that of his parents some orchards and other properties to St. Mary of Vallaure.	Gerald of Selvanec (Salvagnac), his brother William of Selvainec (Salvagnac) and Stephanus Selvanec (Salvagnac).	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 110v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 84.
82	1158 December 27	Frederic, prior of St Mary's of Valle Clara, with the permission of the abbot of Flabonis Montis gives to St. Mary of Tortosa and to Bishop Geoffrey, the land of Valle Clara.	Gerald of Salvanieco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Bishop 1, 38 (305,175).	ACTo, Bishop and Capitol, 2.2. transcription	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 195, f. 75v -76r.	ACTo, Cartulary, 5, d. 18, f. 7v-8r.		<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 95.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
83	1159 April 30	Agnes wife of Robert Burdet grants franchises to the people of Constanti, which was being founded.	Agnes, William Burdet, Robert Burdet II,	lost					Reference to it in Joseph Blanch, <i>Arxiepiscopologi</i> , I pag. 94
84	1159 February 6	Pere of Bovilla and his wife Esclamundie give to the Church of St. Mary's of Tortosa two orchards that they had in Andusc, so the church will be able to burn lamps, acquire books and decorate the main altar.	Gerald of Silviniaco (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 96, fs. 88v-99r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 108.
85	1159 February 26	William de Copons and his wife Tropiana reach agreement with Pere of Tortosa, his mother Mary and his wife Ermegarda on the division of some buildings. Guillem will have the honour of Xerta and Pere of Aldover, will have the fourth part of the fruits. Guillelm pays 8 solidis for the agreement and 4 dinars for the charter.	Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvingac (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Remolins (7: Xerta) (213,100). ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 112.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
86	1159 June 29	Carbonel of Minorissa and his wife Aidelina sell to the church of St Nicholas of Tortosa an agricultural land in Arenis for 11 morabitins.	Gerald of Silvanegco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (4: Arenes).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 100.
87	1159 August 14	Dispute between Bishop Geoffrey and Andreas Mala Domo for the oven of St. James. The Curia rule on the side of the bishop but Andreu was pardoned because he was too poor to be able to pay the bishop the due indemnification. Gerald of Salvinico (Salvagnac) was one of the notales involved in the decision and he was also a signatory of the document.	Gerald of Salvinico (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Extraintentari (230,285).	ACTo, Cartulary 2, titol III, d. I, f. 52				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 103.
88	1159 September 28, Tortosa	Pere Guillelm and his wife Pereta offer to St. Mary's of Tortosa their bodies on the day of their death, with the houses and honour which they had received from the count of Barcelona.	Gerald of Slaviniacho (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 133, f. 49.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 105.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
89	1159 November	Petro Stephani, his wife Guila and his cousin Arnaldus sell to Bernard of Sanct Poncio and his wife Agnes a land in Campol, which they had received from the count of Barcelona, for 40 morabetinos...	Gerald de Silviniaco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Subtresoreria 2, 80 (290.88).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 106.
90	1160 January 11	Agnes, Countess of Tarragona and her sons William and Richard grants to the monastery of St. Mary's Valle Laura, a land in the area of Codoyn close to Franchulino.		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 78				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 95.
91	1160 January 13	Pere of Ente and his wife Matheua exchange with Bishop Gaufredo of Tortosa and the canons a piece of land that the had from a comital donation in Fachalfurin, for another pice of land that the bishop had in Capite Avinalop. East of this land was the land of Gerard of Silviniaco (Salvagnac).	Gerard of Silviniaco (Salvagnac)	lost.	ACTo, Cartulary 2, titol IV, d. XXXVII, f. 120.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 108.

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92	1160 March 16	Pictavó and his wife Berenguera sell to Pere of Sentmenat and his wife two pieces of land that they have in Arenys for 4 good morabits, aedinos and lupinos.	Glibert Anglici	lost	ACTo, Cartulary, 2, títol IV, d. III, fs. 85v-86.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 113.
93	1160 March 26	Ramon de Puigalt grants to Ramon de Copons some houses which he has in the Remolins and some trees that used to belong to Avinambar, and also bequeaths all the honours that he possess in Xerta.	Gerald of Selvaneg (Salvagnac)	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2005, f. 8.	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, doc. 183.				<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 183.
94	1160 April 1	Poncio Sorularis and his wife Maria exchaneg with Eneq Sancio Master of the House of Tortosa, a land in the territory of Tortosa in the area known as Palomera, for a land in Faduna and some currency.	Gerald of Selvaneg (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 191, f. 61r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 15.
95	1160 October 25	Testament of Arnaldus of Martorel, He gives some houses that he had in Martorel and the rest goes to his mother.	Gerald of Silvanaico (Salvagnac)	lost.	ACTo, Cartulary 6, , d. 103, f. 36v.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 117.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
96	1161 February 22	Richard Pallipari, his wife Raimunda and his daughter Raimunda sell to bishop Geoffrey a piece of land that they have in Vila Rubea by comital donation and that was property of Abochazuz, for 4 marobits Lupinos and aiadinos.	Gilbert Anglici and Gerald Salvingac (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Genova (5: Vila-roja), 15 (250,162).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 121.
97	1162 April 13	Patronela, Queen of Aragon and Countess of Barcelona gives to St. Mary of Tortosa an orchard in Bitem that had been bought from Pere of Saragossa.	Gerald of Silviniaco (Salvagnac)	lost.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 99, f. 91r.	ACTo, Cartulary 2, títol IV, d. XI, fs. 94v-95r.			<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 122.
98	1162 May 15	Bertrand of Toulouse and his wife Jordana sell to Pedro Juan of Granada three fifths of an orchard that the children of Avigalards possessed and two fifths of the honour, in Xerta, for 16 maobits of gold. Mentions the orchards of Gerald of Salvagnac (Salvagnac).	A Gerald Gasc (Gascon?)	ACTo, Testaments 3, 59 (140.145).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 126.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
99	1162 May 22	Glibert Anglici gives to St. Mary of Tortosa an Olive plantation that belonged to Avincel and other lands that he had in Mont Rog which used to belong to Lacabat, with the condition that lamps are burned day and night.	Osbert Anglici, Pagan Anglici and Gerald of Silviniacho (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Subtesoreria. 2. 52.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 75, f. 74r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 127.
100	1163 June 3	Adelendis widow of Guillem Trull sells the honour of Andusc to the monastery of St. Mary's Valle Laura.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 115v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 110.
101	1162 June 12	Agnes Countess of Tarragona with the counsel of her sons pledges to Bertrand of Castelet a piece of land in the territory of Tarragona, in the place known as Port Fabregad	Agnes, William Burdet, Robert Burdet II,	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2006, f. 8.					<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 227.
102	1163 November 5	After falling sick, Peter of Rajadell orders his will. He places as principal heirs his wife and the Cathedral of Tortosa.	Gilbert Anglici	ACTo, Testaments, 1 (without number)	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 101, f. 35.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 134.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
103	1164 March 12	Marin Monstrou and his wife Maria sell to Simon Monstrou and his wife Dominica one honour that the had by donation of the Count, free from vassal obligations, in Funiana for 120 maribits of gold.	Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvingac (Salvagnac)	lost.	ACTo, Extraintentari . Moved on 1171 (195.134).				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 151.
104	1164 April 27	Bishop Geoffrey with the consent of the chapter grants some lands for building houses to Dominico and his wife Ermesenda.	Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 2, títol IV, d. VII, fs. 89v-90r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 140
105	1164 June 1	Gerald Canon of the church of the Holy Sepulchre gives to Joan of Tortosa a vineyard which has on its north west the English cemetery.	Osbert Anglici and Gilbert Anglici	ADB, Fons de Santa Anna, carp. 2A, perg. 3.	ADB, C.D. 1E, n. 12, l. B.				<i>L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200</i> , ed. Altura i Perucho, doc. 371.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
106	1164 June 3	Abbot Pere of St. Mary's Valle Laura gives as fief a few possessions to Raimundo Cheralt. One of these, is an olive orchard that had been given to the monastery by Gerald of Salveneg (Salvagnac). Another was a vineyard given by the same person.	Gerald of Salviniaco (Salvagnac) and Gilbert Anglici	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 114.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 113.
107	1164 June 13	Berenguer of Avignon and his wife Ramona sells to John, sexton of St. Mary of Tortosa, an orchard that he had in Bitem for 14 Morabits.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d.100, f. 91v	ACTo, Cartulary 2, Titol IV, d. IX, f. 93.			<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 143,
108	1164 June 22	Alfons II of Aragon gives to Gilbert Anglico a house in Tortosa in gratitude for the help offered by him making a road in the city.	Gerald of Silviniacho (Salvagnac)	lost.	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 115v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 114.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
109	1164 September 12, Tortosa	Controversy between the Bishop of Tortosa and the canons on one side and the brothers of the Hospital on the other, for the honours that Martin Gòlia and Sibil had possessed; the Curia established that the bishop and the canons possess the urban area and the Order the peasant area.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 6, 164, fs 62v -63r.	ACTo, Cartulary 5, d. 95, fs 47v -48r.			<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 147.
110	1165 January 2	Pere Stephan and his wife Guia donate, for the salavtion of their souls. to God, St. Mary of Tortosa, Bishop Ponz and the canons an orchard that they had close to the wall of the city on the side of the English cementery, and they receive in exchange for their charity 100 morabitis lupins.	Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvingac (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Testaments 3, 23 (275.207).	ACTo, Extraventari (264.315).				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 157.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
111	1165 April 28	Ponz writes a donation to Ramon and his wife Maria of houses, which he received from the count of Barcelona inside the walls of Tortosa in the parish of St. James. It establishes a annual tribute of one good morabit of gold to St. Michael, and the donor retains the right to stay whenever he travels to Tortosa.	Peter Galeg (Welsh?) appears as witness.	ACTo, Remolins, Vilanova (2: Remolins) (280.136					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 152.
112	1165 May 27	Robert of Cotenes and his wife Guia sell to Eneg Sanc Master of the House of Tortosa and the brothers of the order, an orchard that they have in Palomera by the Ebro.	Gerald of Salvanieco (Salvagnac), Gilbert (Anglici?)	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 193, f. 61v.					Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 23.
113	1165 June 21	Ponz, scribe, donates to St. Mary of Tortosa some houses that he had in city of Lleida besides those of the the Hospitallers, and other lands an possessions in the same city.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACTo, Extraventari (Imitation copy)				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 153.

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114	1166 March 27	Pere Mercer sells to John and his wife Merquesa some houses that he had in the parish of St. Mary, in the sector of Genova, for 25 souls and half of money in Jaquesa currency.	Pagan Angles	ACTo, Santa Maria, Taules Belles (9: Santa Maria) (178.138).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 159.
115	1166 before 19 April. (Continuation of Crusade)	Before travelling to Jerusalem, Osbert Angles makes a will. It gives his many possessions to all his relatives and to his wife. It leaves money to the cathedral and to other churches. Gilbert Anglici, Gerald Salangac (Salvagnac), Nicolas Angles (his brother), Joan of Tortosa (his daughter), appear as witness and recipients of the will.	Osbert Anglici, Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvaneg (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Testaments 3, 23 (275.207).	ACTo, Fabrica, 19, moved				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 155.
116	1166 April 19	The Jew Haio and his wife Cetona and his son Maimon sell to Osbert Anglici an orchard which had been originally bought from Pere Stephan in Vilanova, for 55 morabits aiadis and lupins of gold at weight.	Joan of Tortosa and Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	ACTo, Remolins, Vilanova (3: Vilanova) (275.165).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 160.

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117	1166 October 26	William of Castellvell give to St. Mary of Tortosa, for 6 marks of silver, the honour that he had in Tortosa and his terms from the donation of Count Ramon Berenguer IV.	Gilbert Anglici and Gaulas Flamenc (Flemish)	ACTo, Tevisola, Anglerola, (1: Anglerola. Etc)	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 210, f. 83r				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 162.
118	1166 November 11	Bertrand of Toulouse and his wife Jordana sell to the monastery of Poblet and Abbot Hugh all their honours which they possess in the territory of Som with all the trees and things within it.	Gerald of Salvaiaico (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms. 241, f. 131v-132r.				<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 199.
119	1166 December 9	Cohen and his wife Cethor and his family sell to Pedro Juan of Granada the rights that the had in Aion over an orchard in Xerta. The orchard was located west of the land of Gerald of Salvanieg (Salvagnac).	Gerald of Salvnieg (Salvagnac)	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2010, f. 14.					<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 300.

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120	1166 December 30	Alfons II, with William Ramon and Ramon Montecatano, give to Pere Santponç a land in Tortosa, which touches the Ebro and the <i>alfodeo</i> of the men of Narbonne, on the condition that he will build on it.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 8 (Titòl VIII) d. 87, f. 141.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 164.
121	1167/1198 March	Bertrand of Sarlat and his wife Guilelma sell to Raymond Angles some houses in the parish of St .Vicent (Lleida).		AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2011, f. 7.					<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 309.
122	1167 July 12	Guillelm Pucuz and Pere of Tortosa exchange some properties.	Gerald of Salvanieg (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Extrainventari (140,110).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 164.

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123	1167 August 15	William of Caorz and his wife Pelegrina sell to Guerau, prior of St. Mary of Tortosa, and to the canons the fourth part the algecira that had belong to poor Moferrix Abinalfer, and he had from a donation from Count Ramon Berenguer IV between Xerta and Tivenys for 3 morabits.	Gilbert Anglici	ACTo, Remolins, Villanova (6: Xerta) (200.160).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 174.
124	1167 September 2	Gales (Anglici?) and his wife Aloys sell fourth part of an algezire and two parts of land which they had Tibenx to Geraldo prior of St. Mary of Tortosa.	Pagan Anglici and Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (7: Tivenys, etc).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 177
125	1167 September 19	Gerald of Morlans (A Breton or English) his daughter Pasxhalia and his brother Brunet sell to Helie and his associate William of Irunda a vineyard and a land in Bitem.		ACTo, Tevizola, Anglerola, (2: Bitem) (211,114).	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 166, f. 63v.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 178

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
126	1167 September 24	Poncio of Montepessullano and his wife Maria sell to Poncio bishop of Tortosa two orchards that they had in Sum which the count of Barcelona had given to them. One of them is on the south of the orchard of William of Sivinicho (Salvagnac).	William of Sivinicho (Salvagnac).	ACTo, Extraiventari, (300,205).	ACTo, Carturaly 2, Titol IV, d. XXXII, f. 116.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 179.
127	1167 October 2	Gales [Angles?] and his wife Alois bequeath to master Petro of Narbona and his wife Raimunda and their children the tower located above the farm of Gerald of Salvanieg (Salvagnac).	Pagan [Anglici?], Gerald Salvanieg (Salvagnac) and Gilbert Anglici	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 113v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 131.
128	1167 October 15	Gauterius of Cassala sells to Osbert Angles olive orchards and lands that he had in Xerta from a comital gift.	Pagan Angles	ACTo, Subtresoreria 2, 97 (260,72).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 180.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
129	1167 November 24	Bernardus Faber and his wife Marchesa and his family sell to God and to Arnaldo of Ture Rubea Master of Spain and to Brother Guillelmeo Berardo commander of the Castle of Miravet, some land in the territory of Tortosa on the other side of the river.	Gerald of Salvanieg (Salvagnac)	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 207, f. 65r.					Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 29.
130	1167 December 1	Moro and his wife Sibila sell to Geraldo prior of St. Mary's of Tortosa and to the canons a land that they had as a comital donation in Vila Rubea.	Gerald of Silvinac (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Genova, Vila-roja (9: Vila-roja)					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 182.
131	1167 December 31	Scribe Poncio grants to St. Mary's and to its Bishop Poncio some houses which he possess in Lleida.	Gerald of Silviniacho (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 38, f. 25.	ACTo, Prior Major, 2, 7.21.			<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 162.

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132	1168 July 9	Agnes, countess of Tarragona, William of Tarragona, Robert, Berenguer sons of Agnes and Sibila wife of William for their love of the church and for the remission of their sins donate a house in Tarragona as a place where the brothers of the monastery of Poblet will be able to stay when they come to Tarragona.	Agnes, William Burdet, Robert Burdet II, Berenguer Burdet, Agnes wife of William.	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2012, f. 12.	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms 241, f.169r -196v.	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2012, f. 13.	AHN, Cod. 992 B, f. 50r.		<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 260.
133	1168 July 26	Alfons II of Aragon with the consent of some nobles including the count of Montpellier gives the land of Peduls to Gerald de Rivo, Pere of St. Martin and Raimundo the Charaltir.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACA Cancilleria, perg. de Alfonso I, n. 59.	ACA, Cancilleria, Reg. n. 2. (Varia de Alfonso I n. 2) d. 10v.			Font Rius, <i>Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña</i> , I, doc. 134.
134	1168 October 6	Ramon of Montecatano accepts that he is in debt to Gilbert Angles for 120 morabinos. Pere Subiras and Guillelm of Tornamira appear as guarantors to the agreement.		lost	BPT, El Llibre . Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 121.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 139.

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135	1168 September 19	Bernard of Castronovo and Bernard of Espulges make an oath on the alter of St. Felix in the church of the Martyr St. Justinian and Pastoris, and in the presences of Arnau, the will of the death William (Burdet?) of Tarragona .		AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2013, f. 3.					<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 335.
136	1168 December 1	Agnes, countess of Tarragona and his sons Robert and Berenguer confirm to the monastery of St. Mary of Poblet the donation the the son of Anges known as William had done to the monks, for the domain that they have in the area of Rivo de Ulmis known as Metta.	Agnes, Robert II and Berenguer.	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2013, f. 1.	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms 241, f.169v -170r.				<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 342.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
137	1169 December 1	Bernard of Vic and his wife Emegardis and his family sell to Guillelmus Berardo, Master and Commander of the Templars in Tortosa and Miravet, a land that used to belong to Pereta the widow of Pere Compang, which is located on the side of the Ebro in a place known as Benigello.	Viva Anglici an English knight	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 113, f. 36r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 35.
138	1169 January 5	Pere, abbot of Santas Creus, gives the honours that used to belong to Guillelm Deztrus and the Saracen Avifora in Bitem and Adusc, to Gerald of Salvanieco (Salvagnac) and Pere of Guinstario.	Gerald of Salvanieco (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 105v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 142.
139	1169 July 15	Anrladus Dolcebal and his family sell to Guillelmo Berardo Master of the Templars of Tortosa and Miravet, Pere Echeri, Pedro Juan and to other brother of the Order of the Temple, an orchard in the territory of Tortosa in the place known as Arennis	Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 124, f. 39r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 33.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
140	1169 October 1	Albertus of Castro Veteri donate to God and to Guillelmo Bernardi Master of the Templars and to the order, a land in the Territory of Tortosa on the other side of the Ebro. The land is located between the river and the main highway.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 94, f. 31r.				<i>Pagarolas, La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 34.
141	1170 October 7	Guillelm of Fontes and his wife Isabel sell to Gilbert Anglici an orchard in Aldover.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 116.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 148.
142	1170 December 20	Guillelm of Copons and his wife Tropina sell to St. Mary's of Tortosa and prior Geraldo and the canons the farm of Antic, which was bought from Bertrand of Castelet who had originally received it from the count.	Gilbert Anglici	ACTo, Grandella, Camarles, 15 (270.280)					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 210.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
143	1171 January 1	Ermesenda prior of Mary Valley and St. Felix with the consent of sister Pelegrina and the entire convent, gives to Iener all their honours in Xerta that they acquired as donation from Pedro Juan. Some conditions are attached to the gift.	Gilbert Anglici	ACTo, Remolins, Vilanova (8: Xerta), ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 222.
144	1171 January 30	Alfons II of Aragon and Ramon of Montecatano give to the hospital of church of St. Mary's of Tortosa and to Guillelm the administrator, the vineyard that had been given to Arnau Cavador in Villa Nova.	Gilbert Anglici	ACTo, Hospitaller 30.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 223.
145	1171 January 31	Alfons II of Aragon together with Guillelm Ramon and Ramon of Montecatano give to Pere of Braia the houses, which had been bought from Bernardo Fabro.	Gilbert Anglici	ACTo, Genova, Vila-roja (1: Genova) (235,140).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 224.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
146	1171 January 31	Pere de Braies with the consent of the the brothers of Sanct Genes sell to St. Mary's of Tortosa and Geraldo, prior and all the chapter of that church, the houses which he acquired from Bernardo with the later confirmation from Alfons II and of Guillemus Raimundo and Ramon of Montecatano.	Gilbert Anglici, Gerald of Salvaneco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Genova, Vila-roja (1: Genova, 42) (210,210).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 225.
147	1171 March 4	Bernado of Martorel and his wife Escleria exchange with Ulrigueto Nigrapllis and his wife, one land that they have in Arrabato on the side of the Ebro for a land in Arenes and 18 Morabatinos.	William of Salvanieco (Salvagnac) and Gerald of Salvaniecco (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Extraintentari, copy of 1/12/1212				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 224.
148	1171 March 23	Durandus of Podio and his wife Estefania sell to God and to the Templars of Tortosa and Miravet, a land that they hadon the other side of the Ebro in the place called Alfarela.	Gerald of Salvanec (Salvagnac), William of Salvanec (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 212, f. 66r-66v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 39.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
149	1171 May 13	Gerald Rubeus for the salvation of his soul and that of his parents grants a land close to Algecira Mazcor to the church of St. Mary of Tortosa.	Gerald of Salvanec (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, 103, f. 93.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 212.
150	1171 May 16	Hugh Francigena and his daughter Guillelma widow of John of Provins and Pere her son, sell to Ramon Speleu, with the consent of Ramon of Montecatano, some houses which they possess in Tortosa.	Gerald of Silvanec (Salvagnac), Peter Galeg (Welsh?), John of Tortosa and Gilbert Anglici	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 2, titol III, d. VI, fs. 55v-57.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 213.
151	1171 July 15	Arnaldus Cavador because of sickness dictates his testament. He leaves multiple properties to the church of St. Mary's.	Pagan Angles and Raymond Angles	ACTo, Extraintventri (310,200).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 214.
152	1171 October 10	Druhet dictates his testament and places Gilbert Angles among others as guarantor. He leaves lands to the church of St. Mary's.	Gilbert Anglici	ACTo, Testaments 3, 36 (230,156).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 218.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
153	1171 November 3	Robert Otonensis confirms the testament made by his brother William Angles in favour of the church of St. Mary's of some honour in Xerta, which he had received from the count of Barcelona.	Gales Angles, Pagan [Angles?], Jordan [Angles?], Geoffrey [Angles?] and Gerald [Angles?]	ACTo, Subtresoreria 2, 49.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 70, fs. 69v-70.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 220.
154	1172 January 18	Vlugetus Nigra Pelle and his wife Batxera sell to Guillemo Bernard Master of the Templars a land that they had on the territory of Tortosa on the other side of the river.	Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 90, f. 30r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 40.
155	1172 January 21	Theobald of Ripol, his son Ramon Theobald and his wife Ninna sell to Guillelm Berardo and the knights Templar a land that they have on the territory of Tortosa bay the river.	Gilbert Anglici, Jordan Angles	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc.96, f. 31v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 41.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
156	1172 May 8	Testament of Gilbert Anglici Gilbert makes his brother Theobaldo, Gerald of Salviniaco (Salvagnac) and Jordan Angles among other guarantor of his will. He leaves many lands to monastery of Santas Creus, to his brother, to the Templars and the Hospitallers.	Gilbert Anglici his brother Theobaldo, Gerald of Salviniaco (Salvagnac) and Jordan Angles	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 100.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 157.
157	1172 June 1 (Date on Charter is 1162, but it seems to be a mistake according to Urdina Martorell)	Gilbert Angles (Anglici) for the remission of his sins gives some properties, which he had already granted in his testament and his house in Tortosa, to St Mary's Valle Laura.	Gilbert Anglici	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 104v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 104.
158	1172 September 27	Arnaldus de Pons donate to Fogeto the third part of a mill in Aitona on the condition of not having another overlord but him. On of the other pars belongs to William Angles.		lost	AHN, cod. 992B, f.101v.				<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 440.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
159	1172 November 4	Estefan administrator of the sacristy of the church of St. Mary's of Tortosa with the consent of Bishop Poncio gives to Geoffrey Anglico and his wife Bernarde the vineyard with the olive orchard which the church had received from Gilbert Anglici in Aldover. When the recipients of the gift are dead the land returns to the church. The recipients are also supposed to pay a tribute for the land annually on the the day of the purification of the Virgin Mary. The document is sign by the recipients Geoffrey Anglico and his wife	Geoffrey Anglico and his wife Bernade, Petro Galleg (Welsh/) and Gerald Salvanieco (Salvagnac).	ACTo, Subtresoreria 1, 61 (147,250).	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 77, f. 75.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 234.
160	1172 November 10	Bonifacius sell to Guillelmo Berardo Master of the Templars and tho the order a land in the territory of Tortosa in the area called Algizira Mascor.	William of Salvenec (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 222, f. 68v-69r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 44.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
161	1172 November 10	Ermellina and her son Mallonus sell to Guillelmo Berardo, master of the Templars and to the Order, a land that they had in the area called Algizira Mascor in the territory of Tortosa.	William of Salvanec (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 224, f. 69r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 45.
162	1172 November 17	William of Salvanec (Salvagnac) and his wife Jordana sell to Gullelmo Berardo Master of the Templars and to the order, a land that they had in Tortosa on the other side of the river in a place called Bercat.	William of Salvenec (Salvagnac), Jordana wife of William of Salvenec (Salvagnac), Petrus Geleg (Welsh?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 186, f. 60r-60v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 46.
163	1173 January	Pere Abbot of Santas Creus grants to John Angles the monastery's houses in Tortosa that had belong to Gilbert Anglici, one in Carrera Antigua and the other in Carrera Maior.	Gilbert Anglici and Theobaldo [Angles?] canon of St Mary's of Tortosa	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 101v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 177.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
164	1173 January	Pere Abbot of Santas Creus gives to John Angles all the monastery's honours in Xerta.	Gilbert Anglici and Theobald [Anglici?] canon at St Mary's of Tortosa	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 120v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 176.
165	1173 January 5	Pere Abbot of Santas Creus gives to Peter Galeg (Welsh?) and Gerald Ginestar an honour that used to belong to Guillelm of Sanct Mainati in the area of Tortosa.	Gilbert Anglici and Canon Theobald [Angles]	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 107.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 179.
166	1173 June 20	Gaucerano de Pinos, Guillelm of Acarras and Bernard of Graiana in the presence of the bishop of Urgel proclaim the last will of Gerald of Graniana. William Anglici and John Anglici are supposed to receive 40 solidos.		lost	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2019, f. 12.	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2019, f. 13.			<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 461.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
167	1173 October 4	Geoffrey Anglici donates to the monastery of Santas Creus, some properties including one plantation with figs and olives, which is south of that of Gilbert [Anglici?] and other property close to that of Gerald of Selvaine (Salvagnac) in Aldover.	Reginald Angles, Galeg [Angles?] and Pagan Angles	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 107v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 172.
168	1173 October 5	Geoffrey Angles chooses Petro Galeg (Welsh?) and Reginald Angles among other locals as guarantors of his testament. He bequeaths his body to the monastery of Santas Creus. He also gives the monastery a house in Tortosa and a honour that used to belong to a Saracen.	Peter Galeg (Welsh?), Reginald Angles and John Angles	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 116v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 173.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
169	1173 October 19	Jordan Anglicus and his brother Osbert Anglicus sell to the church of St. Mary's and to Theobaldo administrator of the vestry 4 olive orchards that used to belong to Avinahali Avingasard. They had been acquired by Osbert from Galterio Cassel. They were in Xerta, east of the land of William of Silviniaco (Salvagnac).	Jordan Angles and Osbert does not sign.	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 67, fs. 67v-68r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 249.
170	1174 February 20	Martinus Formice sell to Guillemo Berardo Master of the Templar and to the order, a vinyard in Bitem which is located in the territory of Tortosa.	Gilbert (Anglici?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 186, f. 67r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 52.
171	1174 February 24	Guillelm Berardo Master of the Templars, grants Benet, his wife and their succesors a vinyard that the Templars possess in a place called Labar. The Templar reserve the right to recieve a third of the the produce, the tides, and other priviledges.	Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 77, f. 26r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 53.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
172	1174 February 27	Geoffrey Flamench (Flemish?) and his wife Bernarda sell to St Mary's of Tortosa and Theobald the sacristan two pieces of land, which they had in Aldover from a comital donation.	Jordan Anglici, John Anglici and Pagan Anglici	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 73, fs. 72v-73r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 263.
173	1174 October 23	Durandus of Podio and his wife Stephana for the salvation of their souls grant after their death to St Mary's of Tortosa and its sacristan Theobaldo an olive orchard which they bought from Berenguer of Cardona which was mixed with that of Gilbert Anglici in Xerta.		ACTo, Subtresoreria 2, 44.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 76, fs. 74-75r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 259.
174	1174 September 9	Ramon of Soler give to Pere of Bagaza and his wife Maria, a piece of land in Fontaneto on the condition of of giving 6 solidos annually on the the day of St. Michael. The land is beside that of Raymond Angles		AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2022, f. 72.					<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 507.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
175	1174 December 14	Gerald of Silviniacho (Salvagnac) and his wife Raimunda for the redemption of their souls and that of their parents, give to the sacristy of St. Mary's of Tortosa and it's titular Theobaldo, an orchard with a land of trees and olives with all its wealth. The land is east of the honour of Gerald Anglici in Xerta.	Gerald of Silviniacho (Salvagnac) and his wife Raimunda.	ACTo, Subtresoreria 2, 53.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 68, fs. 68 -69r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 260.
176	1175 June 1	Examen and his wife Navarra sell to the sacristy of St. Mary's of Tortosa and Theobald a piece of land that they had in Aldover south of the land of Gilbert Anglici.	Pagan Anglici	ACTo, Subtresoreria 3, 51 (180,150).	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 72, f. 72.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 264.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
177	1175 June 12	Theobald brother of Gilbert Anglici and canon of the church of St. Mary's of Tortosa gives to the same church for the salvation of his soul and that of his parents some land which he acquired from the Saracens together with his brother Gilbert in Aldover and an some others in Xerta.	Jordan Anglici and Gilbert Anglici	lost.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 74, f. 73.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 265.
178	1175 November 12	Pere abbot of Santas Creus gives to Dominico of Aldover and his son Trobad, honours over olive trees and others properties around Tortosa, that used to belong to Geoffrey Anglici. However there is a land which they sold to Gilbert his brother (Gilbert Anglici was a brother of Geoffrey?) which is obviously not included.	Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 1217v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 189.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
179	1175 November 13	Arnaldus of St. Peter, his wife Guilia and his son Ramon sell to the Templars to Alrnaldo of Turre Rubea a vinyard that they had in Tortosa in the area known as Labar.	Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 258, f. 78v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 58.
180	1176 February	Pere abbot of Santas Creus gives to John Anglico, the houses which the monastery possesses in Tortosa which used to belong Gilbert Anglico. John Anglico promises give his body to the monastery after his death and part of his possessions.	Gilbert Anglici and Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 118.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 195.
181	1176 February 11	Gerald of Salvanieco (Salvagnac) and his wife Raimunda for the salvation of their soul donate to St. Mary of Poblet and to Abbot Hugh an orchard in Xerta.	Gerald of Salvaieco (Salvagnac), John Anglici, Peter Galeg (Welsh?).	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2024 f. 1.	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms. 241, f. 214r -214v.	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2024 f. 2.	AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2024 f. 3.		<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 551.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
182	1176 February 13	Testament of John chaplain of the church of Aldea. He asks to be accepted as a canon to the Church of St Mary's of Tortosa and donates a large amount of his property to it. He also disposes that his nephews John and Arnaldus will join as canons when they reach the right age. If they have not done so by the time of their deaths the property will pass to the church.	Gerald of Salviniacho (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Testaments 2, 44 (405,200).	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 258, f. 78v.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 292.
183	1176 April 21	Joan de Pinca, for the salvation of his soul donates to God and to the Virgin Mary and to the knights Templar, an orchard located in Pempin in the territory of Tortosa. The orchard is contiguous to that of Peter Galeg (Welsh?).	Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 204, f. 63v-64r.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 61.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
184	1177 March 17	Estefan Clevel and his sons Pere and Estefa sell to Odes Tremps and his wife Ferreira some houses located in the parish of St. John (Lleida). The land is contiguous to the land of Raymond Angles		AHN, Clero secular y Regular, c. 2025 f. 14.					<i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , ed. Altisent, doc. 580.
185	1177 October 29	Accord between Nicholas Anglicus and the canons of the church of St. John and St. Ruffus of Ylerda over an honour which Osbert, brother of Nicholas had given to Canon Pere. Nicholas would receive eleven pitchers and half of olive oil.	Nicholas Anglici.	ACTo, bishop commune and chapter 41 (220.125).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 289.
186	1178 May 9	Jacob son of Tabarie sell to Poncio prior of St Mary's of Tortosa, two pieces of land in Villa Rubea.	Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Genova, Vila-roja (5: Alfondec. La Grassa, 16) (245,180).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 294.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
187	1178 May 29	Ramon of Zabadia and his wife Maria sell to the church of St. Mary's of Tortosa and to its sacristan, Nicholas, the honour that they had in Tamarit in the area of Tortosa.	Gerald of Salvanieco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Extraintentari	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 84, f. 80.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 296.
188	1179 January 27	Ramon of Zaruvira and his wife Ramona sell to Arnaldo of Arens a land in Arens.	Gerald of Salvaniacho (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (2: Arenes) (185,160).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 305.
189	1179 April 16	William of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac) and his wife Jordana sell to St. Mary's of Tortosa two orchards of olive trees; one in Xerta and the other in Matrona. They both used to belong before to Saracens.	William of Salvaniaco (Salavagnac), G[erald] of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac)	lost.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 69, f. 69.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 307.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
190	1180 July 3	Accord achieved between the monastery of Santas Creus and Bertrando, cleric of Tamarit and Guillelm of Claro Monte about the right over the first fruits of Monte Torne. They agreed that the first fruits, will be divided equally between the two parties.	Gilbert Anglici.	AHN, Santas Creus, perg. 86.	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 76v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 231.
191	1181 March 7	Ermesenda Buschana and her son Arnaldo Xicot sell in Lafranch two small pices of land to Gerald of Silvaniacho (Salvagnac). One is at the west of the honour of Gerald of Salvaniecho (Salvagnac). The other has on its west the honour of Gerald of Salvanc.		ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (4: Arenes).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 336.
192	1181 June 5	Robert Alcaix exchange with Berengario of Avinionis, Master of the Military Order, and Pere of Auxor, Commander of the Order in Tortosa and the brothersd of the order, a land that they had in Algeri Mascor for another land own by the Templars and some currency.	Peter Galeg (Welsh?)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 225, f. 69v.				Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 74.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
193	1182 October 30	Ramon of Cintillis and his wife Valenza grant to St. Mary's of Tortosa and it head Nicholas two pieces of land in Villa Nova and an orchard and two olive orchards in Xerta. The orchard is east of the honour of Jordan Anglici.		ACTo, Subtresoreria 2, 48.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 66, fs. 66-67r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 264.
194	1183 March 20	Ermessenda, daughter of Aldeia and wife of Nicholas Anglicus, gives to the sacristy of St. Mary's of Tortosa an honour in Aldover that used to belong to the Saracens.	Jordan Anglici	lost.	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 78, fs. 75v-76.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 360.
195	1183 June 5	Johannes Cazafulia sell to St. Mary's of Tortosa a third part of the rights over an olive plantation in Aldover. The other 2 parts belong to the monks of Santas Cruas and to Nicholas Anglici.		ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 79, fs. 76v-77r.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 354.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
196	1183 November 9	Berenguer Garidelli gives to Bernardo Alcaide some land outside the wall of the city on condition of building a house and payment of tribute for it. The land is south of the land of Ermesenda wife of Jordan Anglici.		ACTo, Alfondec, Costa S. Jaume (4: Alfondec, Grassa, 25) (175.185). ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 357.
197	1184 January	Alfons II of Aragon recognises the rights that the knights of the order of the Temple possess on the territory of Tortosa, before he donates parts of the city and its territory to them. Among the lands given to the Templars are two pieces of land which used to belong to Gilbert Anglici in Vila Rubeam.	Gilbert men of th day (Anglici?)	ACA, perg. Pedro I, n. 277.					<i>Liber feudorm maior</i> , I, ed. Rosell, doc. 477.
198	1184 January 28	William of Salvanec (Salvagnac) and his wife Jordana donate to the Templars an orchard in the Territory of Tortosa in the area called Xerta, William promises to pay the order a tribut of a pitcher of Olive oil every year on christmas day.	William of Salvanec (Salvagnac)	lost	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 255, f. 78r.	ACA, Sec. 5. arm. 4, v. III, doc. 248, f. 78r.			Pagarolas, <i>La comanda del Temple de Tortosa: primer periode</i> , doc. 82.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
199	1186 July 26	Ramon Adei and his wife Ermengard and his brother Arnaldus owe to Martino of Estorga and his wife Estefania 6 mazmudines of gold in weight and for this they are supposed to give their houses in Remolins.	Jordan Anglici	ACTo, Alfondec, Costa S. Jaume (Costa S. Jaume 1) (162.130).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 402.
200	1187 April 2	Hugh abbot of Santas Creus gives to John Anglico and his wife Rosse the monastery's honours in Almonia in the territory of Tortosa which used to belong to Geoffrey Anglico.	No clear Anglo-Norman witnesses.	Original Lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 119.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 289.
201	1187 July 30	Nicholas, sacristan of St. Mary's of Tortosa with the consent of Poncio, prior, gives Mahometo Alfaneç for the duration of his life, an orchard which used to belong to Gerald Silvaniaco (Salvagnac) in Xerta. He supposed to give a fourth of its production to the church. The land is at the east of the honour that used to belong to Gilbert Anglici.		lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 14, f. 14.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 414.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
202	1188	Gilberto (Anglici?) gives some lands to the monastery of Poblet.	John Angles	lost	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, ms. 241, doc. 181.				<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 181.
203	1188 May 3	Poncio, prior of St. Mary's of Tortosa with the consent of Sancho of the Church St John of Campo give to Gerald Silvaniaco (Salvagnac) a piece of land in Arens on the condition of planting a vineyard and giving back to the church a third of the produce.		ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (2: Arenes) (180,175). ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 426.
204	1189 June 18	Berenguer Garidel an his wife Geralda exchange with Poncio, bishop of Tortosa some houses in Tortosa in the borough of Grassas for some lands in Labar.	Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Tevizola, Anglerola (2: Bitem). ABC.					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 434.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
205	1189 July 7	Ermesenda de Provenza and her husband Ramon Vilardel sell to Arnaldo of Arenis a land south of the land of Gerald of Silviniaco (Salvagnac).		ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (1: Arenes) (180,155).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 436.
206	1189 November 30	John Anglicus and his wife Rossa sell to Hugh abbot of Santes Creus an orchard in Aldover.	William of Salviniaco (Salvagnac)	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santes Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 106v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santes Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 332.
207	1189 November 30	Grant to Santes Creus, is verified by Poncio Aurarius and his wife Dulce over some lands in Xerta. He also gives himself to enter the monastery as monk.	John Anglici	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santes Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 123.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santes Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 333.
208	1189 November 30	Raimundo of Sentiles and his wife Valencia give to the monastery some land in Xerta.	John Anglici	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santes Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 124.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santes Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 334.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
209	1190 March 1	Abbot Hugh of Santas Creus bequeaths property of vineyards that John Anglico possess in Aldover and that had belonged to Gilbert Anglici.	No clear Anglo-Norman are mentioned as witnesses.	lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 124v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 338.
210	1191 April 28	After many controversies, by deposition of the Curia, the important men of Tortosa which included John Anglici, and the canons from one side and the brothers of the order of the Hospital for the other, reached an agreement over the distribution of the tenths over the whole of the territory of Tortosa.		lost	ACTo, Templars 9, 18/12/1209.	ACTo, Cartulary 8, fs. 154-155r.	ACTo, Cartulary 6, f. 13	ACTo, Cartulary 9, fs. 129-130r.	<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 456.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
211	1193 October 25	Raymond Gelegus (Welsh? Galician?) and his people sell to Nicholao, sacristan of the church of Tortosa, two orchards which he had bought from the son of Pagan Anglici (does not give his name), which are located in Som and in a small land in Avinalop. The land has the honour of William of Silvaniaco (Salvagnac) on its north west. The other orchard is south of the honour of William of Salviniaco (Salvagnac).	Ramon Galec (Welsh/Galician?)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 90, fs. 84-85r				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 497.
212	1195 March 9	Gombadus, bishop of Tortosa, and Poncio prior with all the consent of the chapter donate to Jacob an orchard that they had in Som, and other properties and rights.	William of Salviniaco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Arenes, Tivenys (6, Tyvenys) (210,165) ABC.	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d. 172, f. 66.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 535.
213	1197 September 5	Petrus of Palma gives to Gazon, in gratitude for his services, an appraised house that he had near the church of St Mary's of Tortosa, located in the sector known as Tamarit.	John Anglici	ACTo, Santa Maria, Taules Velles (9: Santa Maria).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 551.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
214	1198 March 13	Petrus, who was the son of Arnaldo of Lupricato, sell to Paratge and his wife Guillelma half a vineyard and a land in Bitem for which he had as census of one fifth of the fruits of the bishop of Tortosa. The buyer promises to continue paying the dues to the bishop.	William of Salviniaco (Salvagnac)	lost	ACTo, Cartulary 2, titol IV, d. XXVIII, fs. 106v-108r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 568.
215	1199 January 15	Petro of Pruneto prior of St Rufus of Ylerde, and Bertrandus canon of the place, exchange with Gombaldo Bishop of Tortosa and Poncio prior of the same church, an orchard that they have in Bitem, which had been owned by Osbert Angles, and the honors that they possess in Xerta which they had acquired from Berenguer Torrogio, for two vineyards the chapter dignitaries of Tortosa had in Pardinis Ylerde.		ACTo, Tevizola, Anglerola, Bitem (2: Bitem)	ACTo, Cartulary 6, d, 161, f. 61.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 579.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
216	1204 Februraury 4	Ramona, who was the wife of Berenguer of Torta sells to Poncio, sacristan of St. Mary's of Tortosa, some houses that she had as census from himself outside the walls of Tortosa in the place know as Alfondico. The land of the house has on its western side the lands that used to belong to William of Salviniacho (Salvagnac).		lost	ACTo, Cartulary 4, d. 120, fs. 109v-110r.				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 640

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
217	1206 August 4	Gombaldus, Bishop of Tortosa and the canons from one side and brother Martin of Andos, master of the Hospital of Amposta and the brothers on the other, dispute the right to receive tithes from Aldea. The Hospitallers claim that after buying the land that they had reached an accord previously with Bishop Poncio. Pere of Tolone and Arnaldus of Tolone are chosen to solve the dispute with the counsel of Pere of Malobosc, master of Vitaler and Guillelm Gozi. They decided that the Cathedral should have the tithes for all that it had right to and that the order should have the tithes of everything that they		lost	ACTo, Cartulary 3, fs. 28-30r.	ACTo, Cartulary 8, titol V, d. IV, doc. 55, fs. 93v-94.	ACTo, Cartulary 9A, ps. 185-188.	ACTo, Rectoria de l'Adea, 54	<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 672.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
218	1209 May 4	Gog and his wife Basaloni sell to Bernardo Bruno and his wife Bernarda a vineyard that she had in the area of Tortosa over the plain of St. John of the Camp.	William of Salviniaco (Salvagnac).	ACTo, Trevizola, Anglerola (1: Anglerola, etc) (155,175), ABC.	ACTo, Trevizola, Anglerola (1: Anglerola, etc) (150,180), ABC. (Original duplicate).				<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 719.
219	1210 July 25	Gombaldus, bishop of Tortosa, prior Poncio, Guillelm of Alos chamberlain, Bernardo sacristan, Poncio presbyter and Pere presbyter give to John chaplain of St. Mary's of Aldea the first fruits and tithes of the Christian and Muslims that work in the area of Aldea. Also some other rights that had been given by Beranrdo of Pulcro Loco.	John Anglici	lost	ACTo, Rectoria de l'Aldea, 53 (315,130).	ACTo, Cartulary 8, d. 12, f. 11v.			<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 734.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
220	No Date	Confirmation of possessions which Raymond of Copons had through Ramon Puigalt. One orchard in Xerta besides that of William of Salvaiec (Salvagnac) And another orchard in Assent besides that of Gerald of Salvaiec (Salvagnac)....And also a parcel of land in Bitem between those of Robert Tenes and Reginald Anglici.		lost	BPT, Cartulari de Poblet, doc. 185.				<i>Cartulari de Poblet</i> , ed. Pons i Marqués doc. 185.
221	No Date	Pere of Braia with the consent of the brothers of Sanct Genes sells to St. Mary's of Tortosa and to prior Geraldo the houses acquired originally from Bernardo Fabro and later confirmed by King Alfonso and the Montecatanos.	Gilbert Anglici and Gerald of Salvaneco (Salvagnac)	ACTo, Genova, Vila-roja (1: Genova, 42) (210,210).					<i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa</i> , ed. Virgili, doc. 225.
222	No date	This is note about the properties, which the monastery of Santas Creus possesses in Xerta. Among them it mentions that there were some that belong to Gilbert Anglici who has become a monk at Santas Creus.		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 121v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 394.

Doc	Date	Description	Witnesses/ Signatories	Original	First Copy	Second Copy	Third Copy	Fourth Copy	Published in
223	No date	This is a note of the properties that the monastery of St. Mary's Valle Laura received in Tortosa, from certain people. Gerald of Salvaniaco (Salvagnac) is mentioned as one of the donors.		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 121v.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 395.
224	No date	Note of tributes that a few serfs are expected to give to the Monastery of Santas Creus. Gerald Salvanec (Salvagnac), Peter Gelg (Welsh?) and John Angles are mentioned. They are supposed to supply olive oil in multiple quantities for their fiefs.		lost	BPT, El Llibre Blanch de Santas Creus, cart. n. 168, f. 122.				<i>El "Llibre Blanch" de Santas Creus</i> , ed. Urdina Martorell, doc. 396.

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